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SUZUKI PREVIEWS 1982 PROSPECTS WITH PRESS

OW011111 Tokyo NHK Television Network in Japanese 2345 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's New Year press conference with reporters at his official residence -- recorded; date of recording not indicated]

[Excerpts] [Question] Happy New Year, Prime Minister. Thank you for holding this New Year press conference. We feel that 1981 was an eventful year marked by many incidents, including the year-end developments in Poland and various trade problems. It appears that 1982 is going to be another eventful and tumultuous year both domestically and internationally. First of all, what are your views of prospects for this new year?

[Suzuki] I agree; I also feel that we are going to have another eventful and tumultuous year, following last year. The international situation is not very favorable: The Afghan issue has reached a deadlock; the developments in Poland are becoming increasingly grave and tense; and the Middle East situation is extremely unstable as a result of Israel's move to annex the Golan Heights. The international economy is still in an impasse. Many countries, including advanced nations, have encountered difficulties, such as slow economic growth, inflation, unemployment and international payments deficits. According to an OECD forecast, bright economic prospects are unlikely until the latter half of this year. Under these circumstances, there are growing international expectations that Japan will play role commensurate with its national strength and status in promoting world peace and stability as a leading member of the international community. Japan will make further efforts to improve its economic management and accelerate its domestic economic recovery. It will make utmost efforts to reduce and remove economic and trade frictions with foreign countries.

[Question] I would like to ask about your view of economic prospects for 1982. The government has set the rate of real growth at 5.2 percent. Some people think that this is rather too high, compared with forecasts made by the private sector. Are you confident that Japan can attain this growth rate?

[Suzuki] I know that there is a gap of 1 percent, roughly, between the figure forecast by private economic research institutes and the government-set economic growth rate of 5.2 percent. However, I believe that through strenuous efforts we will be able to attain this growth rate. In this connection, I would like to refer to the reduction of our official discount rate on two occasions last year. As a consequence, the official discount rate has now been lowered 0.75 percent. In addition, we have successively reduced various loan interests as well. I believe that the government should conduct its banking and monetary operations flexibly in order to invigorate private economic activity. I also believe that in carrying out public works, priority should be given to projects of high economic effectiveness, such as housing construction. In carrying out public projects, large portions of the budgets should be used for the actual construction of facilities and installations, rather than for land rentals and so forth. We should also strive to carry out various public projects ahead of schedule in 1982. By taking these measures and studying plans carefully, I would like to emerge from our current economic impasse and hasten our economic recovery.

[Question] The 5.2 percent growth rate includes a 1.1 percent growth attainable through meeting foreign demand and consumption. Looking at Japan's actual record in 1981, I doubt that Japan can achieve this growth through meeting foreign demand at this 1.1 percent level. I feel that it would be a very difficult task. What do you think?

[Suzuki] A large share of Japan's economic growth last year was definitely realized through meeting foreign demand. This is why foreign countries criticized Japan and held it responsible for trade frictions. In fact, in our economic management we should place emphasis on promoting domestic demand so that we can, practically, reduce and remove these economic frictions. Based on this belief, the government, in compiling its 1982 budget, has paid particular attention to budget allotments for housing and other similar projects that can increase domestic demand. The government is continuing this effort.

[Question] According to newspaper reports, a considerably large number of people are now demanding that their income taxes be reduced. In this connection, I would like to ask you three questions: First, what do you think about these growing voices among the people? Second, do you really have no intention of reducing income taxes in 1982 in order to satisfy these voices among the people and promote domestic demand? Third, is it true, as rumored, that should you decide to reduce income taxes, you will introduce a new indirect tax so as to offset the resultant revenue loss?

[Suzuki] As you said, there are growing complaints about "heavy levies" with regard to income taxes. As many as 5 calendar years have passed since minimum income tax levels were set. Furthermore, the current progressive income tax system makes people feel that they are taxed heavily. I am humbly listening to demands for a tax reduction. However, as I have done in the Diet in the past, I would like to point out that income tax rates in Japan are lower than in the United States, Britain and West Germany. France is the only country with lower income tax levels than Japan. But France levies a value added tax separately.

Therefore, I would like to ask the people to be a little more patient and wait until conditions conducive to the reduction of taxes have been created. Therefore, in compiling the 1982 budget, we have left intact the current income tax system. However, as I have said, I am fully aware of the people's expectations for a tax reduction and of their request that minimum income tax levels be raised.

I will be cautious in handling this issue in the future while observing the outcome of drastic administrative reforms and curtailment, listening to opinions from various quarters and trying to obtain popular consensus.

[Question] In other words, are you saying that it is possible to have income taxes reduced in 1983 if administrative and financial reforms prove successful?

[Suzuki] I hope that through administrative and financial reforms we will be able to find measures to prevent further burdens on the people. Furthermore, I hope that through these reforms we will even be able to reduce taxes. I know that this is what the people want. Therefore, I will continue to strive for administrative and financial reforms. Through efforts for administrative curtailment and rationalization, I would like to create conditions conducive to the reduction of taxes.

[Question] Turning to another subject, I would like to ask you about defense spending in connection with the adoption of the 1982 budget toward the end of last year.

Through "political negotiations" and the "judgment of the prime minister," it was decided that defense spending for 1982 be increased 7.75 percent, surpassing the originally-set ceiling and rate of increase for 1981. As a consequence, only defense spending will increase conspicuously, whereas other areas of the budget will be subjected to extremely severe belt-tightening. Thus the 1982 budget is markedly unbalanced, I believe. Why was it necessary for the government to increase defense spending only, and to such a conspicuous extent, in compiling the budget? Furthermore, the rate of increase in social welfare appropriations is the lowest thus far. Therefore, it is hard to avoid the impression that the defense budget has been increased at the expense of welfare programs. I also feel that the defense budget has been decided on without substantial talks on actual issues and that it is merely the result of a numbers game. In this context, I would like to ask you if the government has a firm sense of purpose regarding national security.

[Suzuki] Your question concerns defense spending and the defense budget. Regarding our country's defense, I have taken every opportunity to seek public understanding of our defense policy through the Diet and by other means. On these occasions, we have made the following points: The people of Japan must have the spirit of defending the country ourselves. In this sense, Japan is dedicated to purely defensive capabilities and will have only the minimum defense power necessary. Even if Japan is an economic power, it will not possess a defense power that might pose a threat to its neighbors. It will hold fast to the three nonnuclear principles as a national policy. I have also explained that to achieve the minimum defense capability necessary, the government will make steady defense efforts to approach, as soon as possible, the level envisaged in the outline of the defense buildup program adopted by the Defense Council and the Cabinet in 1976.

In compiling the 1982 budget, the government has been guided by this basic policy. It is true that in explaining that defense efforts would be made in line with that basic policy, I stated that from that viewpoint I would like to secure a 1982 defense budget with a rate of increase over the 1981 defense budget that would be in the neighborhood -- remember the word neighborhood -- of the rate of increase of the 1981 budget over the preceding defense budget. In your question you implied that this statement served as a momentum for increasing the defense budget by 7.75 percent. I believe that I have never deviated from the stance I mentioned earlier, that is, that our defense capability should be steadily consolidated to reach the level envisaged in the defense buildup program.

I want to take this opportunity to stress that in this volatile, tense international situation, Japan, as a member of the world community, has the responsibility of possessing the minimum defense power to defend itself. We cannot entrust this matter to others. Other countries are indeed criticizing us for not making sufficient defense efforts despite the fact that Japan accounts for 10 percent of the gross national product of the world. At the same time, however, since Japan cannot contribute militarily other than by defending itself, we must compensate through budget allocations in overseas development assistance -- ODA -- and other external economic cooperation programs, and render economic cooperation to the Third World, thus contributing to the peace and stability of the world. I believe that this is an obligation imposed on Japan in a manner commensurate with its national strength and national capability. I am appealing to the nation to understand. Under these circumstances, the 1982 budget was formulated within the framework of a zero ceiling, but those aspects were taken into consideration. I hope the nation will understand.

If some quarters criticize Japan, saying that [in formulating the 1982 budget] it was swayed by the United States, and yielded to a foreign pressure, I think this is a big mistake. Japan and the United States concluded a mutual security treaty. The Japan-U.S. security arrangements serve as a main pillar in the defense of Japan. It is quite natural that under these security arrangements Japan and the United States set up a system in which joint actions with the U.S. forces stationed in Japan are carried out smoothly, satisfactorily and closely in the event of an emergency. From this viewpoint, I think that it is a natural turn of events that the United States has an interest in Japan's defense efforts. However, there was no instance in which the U.S. side cited concrete figures and insisted that Japan act in a particular way, or anything of the kind. I mean to say that I have not been told about that type of thing. In formulating the 1982 budget, the government and the Liberal-Democratic Party made decisions wholly and independently after holding prudent consultations and examinations.

Some have said that the government merely fitted figures while not considering the content of the budget. But, according to what I have been told, final negotiations were held on the questions of frontal equipment [shomen sobi], the capability of resisting war [teisen noryoku] and, in the final stages, the question of maintenance of office buildings and other facilities of the Self-Defense Forces.

I think the criticism that the government simply fitted figures without paying due consideration to the content of the budget is unwarranted and impossible.

[Question] What is your basic position on the forthcoming ordinary Diet session?

[Suzuki] The Diet is scheduled to resume its ordinary session in late January. I think our greatest task in the ordinary Diet session will be to get the proposed 1982 budget and related budgetary bills approved. The 1982 budget is important in that it contains administrative and financial reform programs worked out on the basis of recommendations made by the Provisional Commission for the Survey of Administrative Reforms [RINCHO]. Therefore, I hope to get it approved without any modifications.

As I mentioned earlier, if RINCHO proposes a second package of recommendations suggesting the streamlining, integration and/or abolition of the procedures for granting approvals and licenses, and if it is necessary to write them into law, I would like to handle this at that ordinary session as well.

Another important task to be carried out this year is to take appropriate and concrete measures to cope with trade frictions. To check the trend of impulsively jumping to protectionism, we must help preserve and develop the free trade system to the bitter end by helping to activate the world economy again not in the direction of a reduced equilibrium, but toward an expanded equilibrium. I hope that necessary measures will be taken at the Diet session in this regard as well.

[Question] In that case, in connection with the House of Councillors election scheduled for next year, are you planning to propose to the Diet that it deal with the question of reforming the House of Councillors election system at the forthcoming session?

[Suzuki] That has been my public pledge since my inauguration. I want to see an election system that does not cost money. The question of reviewing the national constituency system of the House of Councillors election remains an agenda item requiring the Diet's continued deliberation. I hope, therefore, to achieve this at the Diet session and ensure that the House of Councillors election next year is held under the new system.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, now that you have talked about elections, I would like to ask you a question which, I think, might be too risky for you to answer but to which, I hope, you will give a meaningful reply. In the Lockheed trial, the judgment of the first instance is expected to be handed down by this autumn. In view of the sting of a bee [referring to the testimony of a prosecution witness, Mieko Enomoto], the verdict is likely to be unfavorable for the LDP. Taking this into consideration, some people in the LDP say that the party may dissolve the Diet and hold general elections before the court hands down its verdict in the Lockheed trial. Mr Prime Minister, could you please frankly state your views on this matter before the nation?

[Suzuki] Trials fall outside the jurisdiction of the executive branch and are subject to the judgment of the judiciary. Therefore, frankly, I do not at all think that Japan's government operations will be affected by this sort of problem. As for the question of dissolving the Diet and holding general elections, I think that we should set store by the 4-year term of office for members of the House of Representatives as best as we can. Therefore, I do not harbor any such notions as you said, such as rashly dissolving the Diet and holding general elections.

[Question] The LDP is scheduled to hold its presidential election in autumn. Could you please tell us whether you intend to run in that election?

[Suzuki] It is now only the beginning of the new year, and that election will take place about a year from now. I am not thinking about it at all. I am fully preoccupied with the desire to do my best to fulfill my assigned duties on a daily basis. But when the time comes, I will consult you about it and I hope that you will extend your favor then.

[Question] At the outset of this press conference you said that you will do your utmost to ease and eliminate trade frictions. At present, measures are being worked out, such as lowering tariff rates ahead of the agreed schedule and reducing nontariff barriers. If and when these measures fail to reduce the huge trade surplus, what are you going to do? If you have any concrete plan, could you please tell us about it?

[Suzuki] I would like to see what Japan can do voluntarily to eliminate these trade frictions, and I would like to find out what Japan should do to obtain the understanding of people abroad and foreign government officials. In the case of lowering tariff rates 2 years ahead of the schedule agreed on at the Tokyo round, for instance, Japan is putting this into practice voluntarily regardless of whether other countries do likewise or not.

The government is also energetically endeavoring to make improvements in the area of nontariff barriers, such as by reviewing import procedures and inspection criteria for imports. The party has established a special research council on external economic measures and the council, headed by Mr Esaki, has already met a dozen times thus far and is making energetic efforts. The government is also making a study on the matter and we are dealing with it in the hope of introducing a finalized package to the Cabinet council on economic measures by the latter part of January for its adoption.

If we put these measures into practice, I believe that we can at least eliminate the criticism or denunciation directed at Japan -- criticism that Japan is unfair in the field of trade competition.

You asked what we should do in the event these measures still fall short of removing the trade imbalances. I think that this kind of question cannot be resolved by the efforts of Japan alone. Nations trading with Japan should accelerate rationalization, increase productivity, produce inexpensive goods of fine quality and strive to sell products that meet the needs of the Japanese people. Since Japan is making efforts to respond to their request to totally eliminate nontariff barriers, I would like them to make efforts also to explore the market and expand their participation in it. Only by doing so can the balance in international payments be improved; Japan's efforts alone are insufficient to correct the situation.

Furthermore, I think that Japan should help develop the world economy not in the direction of a reduced equilibrium, but in the direction of an expanded equilibrium. Therefore, I think that Japan should render active cooperation -- industrial cooperation in various forms, such as investments, joint ventures and joint research and development of frontier technology. I am planning to eliminate these trade frictions and trade imbalances by making these efforts and to continue efforts to help maintain and develop the free trade system.

[Question] Prime ministers have made it a rule to visit the United States annually during the series of holidays in May. Are you also planning to visit the United States this year to discuss the trade, defense and other issues you mentioned, or are you planning to hold talks with President Reagan in one form or another, putting aside the question of when such talks are to be held?

[Suzuki] Both the Japanese and U.S. Governments are making efforts to keep in close contact with and promote mutual understanding between each other. This is particularly true today, when the international situation is extremely volatile. As of now, there is no plan whatsoever either for Mr Reagan to visit Japan or for me to visit Washington for talks. However, since a summit meeting of advanced countries is scheduled for early summer in France, I will naturally have an opportunity to meet him there. Therefore, although there is no plan worked out as of now, I would like to maintain this close contact between Japan and the United States at all times.

[Question] I would like to ask you about Japanese-Soviet relations. The working-level consultations will be resumed this month and, by coincidence, the ambassadors of the two countries will be replaced. In light of these facts, some people hope that a new phase will be reached this year. In this connection, Mr Prime Minister, could you please tell us your basic view of Japanese-Soviet relations and their prospects?

[Suzuki] An agreement was reached last year between then Foreign Minister Sonoda and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on resuming working-level consultations. In accordance with this agreement, high working-level consultations are scheduled to be held in Moscow 20-21 January, that is, this month. I believe that at these consultations the two countries will exchange frank views on issues of mutual interest as well as on the international situation, including questions related to the Far East. However, to lay a firm foundation for true friendship and cooperative relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, it is necessary to conclude a Japanese-Soviet peace treaty before anything else. To this end, adequate consultations should be held to examine the question of the four northern islands -- inherently Japanese territory -- which remains an unresolved issue between the two at the moment. It is my cherished desire to see this issue resolved and to establish a relationship of true friendship and cooperation between Japan and the Soviet Union.

At any rate, the Soviet Union is an influential nation in Asia and I believe that the establishment of friendly and cooperative relations between Japan and the Soviet Union will contribute to peace in Asia as well as to the peace and stability of the world. Therefore, for its part Japan is eager to resolve the pending issue of the northern islands, conclude a peace treaty and establish a lasting relationship of friendship and cooperation between Japan and the Soviet Union. Japan will persistently continue to make endeavors in this direction.

[Question] Could you please state your views regarding ways to break the deadlock in Japan-ROK relations?

[Suzuki] Of late a friendly atmosphere has emerged in Japan-ROK relations. I want to treasure this atmosphere and exert continued efforts toward settling the issue of cooperative relations between Japan and the ROK, particularly the pending issue of bilateral economic cooperation as strongly requested by the South Korean side. The ROK is a friendly neighboring country and historically an important nation inseparable from Japan. Therefore, I think it is important that the two countries resolve the economic cooperation issue as quickly as possible and thus seal their ties with friendly, fraternal bonds and join efforts in working together for the peace of Asia. I think that the two countries should exert efforts in that direction.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, thank you. Although we still have more questions to ask you, our time has run out, and I think we should end this conference now. Thank you very much.

[Suzuki] Thank you very much.

JAPAN SEEN SHARING U.S.-FRG POLISH PERCEPTIONS

OW060347 Tokyo KYODO in English 0332 GMT 6 Jan 72

[Excerpts] Tokyo, Jan 6 (KYODO) -- The Japanese Foreign Ministry Wednesday said the result of the summit meeting between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt showed that the two countries are in basic agreement on the Polish situation. It said Japan will consult closely with Western European nations on possible sanctions to take against Poland and the Soviet Union should martial law continue.

The Japanese Government closely watched the Washington summit following the appearance of differences between the United States and Bonn over responses to the Polish crisis. A Foreign Ministry spokesman termed the apparent mending of the break between the two nations as extremely significant.

"As U.S. and West German perceptions (of the Polish situation) are now in agreement, it is necessary that Japan also shares this perception," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "We will continue to hold close consultations with Western bloc countries on sanctions and other concrete responses against Poland and the Soviet Union."

The spokesman observed that the U.S.-West German statement singled out the responsibility of the Soviet Union in the events leading up to martial law in Poland. He said the meeting was important in achieving the unity of the United States and its European allies on the Polish question.

'COMMON FRONT' WITH EC ON POLISH SANCTIONS

OW050431 Tokyo KYODO in English 0400 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Tokyo, Jan 5 (KYODO) -- The government decided Tuesday to make a common front with the European Community (EC) on sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union.

At a regular Cabinet meeting, it was agreed to take concrete measures based on the 12-point communique announced at the EC foreign ministers conference in Brussels on Monday. The communique said the Polish situation would be further aggravated if it led to open intervention by Warsaw Pact countries and issued a warning against any such intervention. It warned that possible economic sanctions may be taken if the Soviet Union intervenes in Polish affairs, although the EC will not immediately join the U.S. in taking such steps.

Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi briefed the Cabinet members on the communique and said Japan planned to act together with the United States and Europe, particularly the latter, on the Polish issue. He revealed a study will be made on possible sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union.

Although there was a difference between the U.S. and the EC on sanctions, Sakurauchi indicated understanding for the guiding role being played by the U.S., but added it was most important to deal with the matter with the West in complete unity. The foreign minister said it is important for Japan to prevent direct intervention in Poland by the Soviet Union and stressed the need for the West to take measures to avoid such a situation.

Sakurauchi told reporters after the Cabinet meeting he planned to make a detailed study of the communique and results of the meeting scheduled on Tuesday between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

KIM IL-SONG SENDS NEW YEAR CARDS TO LEADERS

SKO20536 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0509 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Pyongyang, January 2 (KCNA) -- The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, exchanged New Year's cards with foreign party and state leaders on the New Year 1982.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song received New Year's cards from: Hu Yaobang, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China; Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic; Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defence of the Polish People's Republic; Henryk Jablonski, president of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic; Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic; Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic; Y. Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic; Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and president of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba; Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam; Truong Chinh, president of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; U San Yu, president of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma; Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, president of the Republic of India; Indira Gandhi, chairman of the National Congress Party of Indira Gandhi and prime minister of the Republic of India; Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic; Spyros Kiprianou, president of the Republic of Cyprus; Jabir al-Ahmad Jabir as-Sabah, amir of the State of Kuwait; Habib Bourguiba, president of the Republic of Tunisia; Julius K. Nyerere, president of the United Republic of Tanzania; A. Milton Obote, president of the Republic of Uganda; Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia; Kanaan Banana, president of the Republic of Zimbabwe; Robert G. Mugabe, prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe; General Gnassingbe Eyadema, chairman-founder of the Togolese People's Rally and president of the Republic of Togo; Dawda Kairaba Jawara, president of the Republic of Gambia; Samuel Kanyondoe, head of state and chairman of the Council for Relieving People of the Republic of Liberia; Abdou Diouf, president of the Republic of Senegal; Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham, leader of the People's National Congress of Guyana and president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana; Edward Philip George Seaga, prime minister of Jamaica; Urho Kekkonen, president of the Republic of Finland; Carl Gustav IV, king of Sweden; Margrethe the Second, queen of Denmark; Anton Buttigieg, president of the Republic of Malta; Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, president of the Republic of Austria; Justice Abdus Sattar, president of the People's Republic of Bangladesh; and Chengara Veetildevan Nair, president of the Republic of Singapore.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song sent New Year's cards to them.

KIM IL-SONG GREETES CHONGNYON LEADER IN NEW YEAR

SKO21051 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 0100 GMT 1 Jan 82

[New Year's message from Kim Il-song to Han Tok-su, chairman of Central Standing Committee of Chongnyon]

[Text] To Comrade Han Tok-su, chairman of the Standing Central Committee of Chongnyon: Greeting 1982, which will shine with victories and glory, I extend warm greetings to all

Chongnyon functionaries, including comrade chairman and the 700,000 compatriots in Japan. The year 1981 was a triumphant one in which great successes were gained on the road of the first historic march to implement the decisions of the Sixth KWP Congress.

Last year our people made great progress in the work of imbuing society with the chuche idea by energetically carrying out the three revolutions -- ideological, technical and cultural -- with profound trust in the party and the government and great pride in the bright future of the revolutionary cause of chuche. In the course of the proud struggle to implement the decisions of the sixth party congress, our revolutionary ranks have been further consolidated into an invincible entity; thoroughgoing preparations have been made to successfully fulfill the goals of the 10-point prospective plan for socialist economic construction and the country's economic might has further increased.

In difficult circumstances in which the military fascists had unprecedentedly intensified their brutal tyranny, the South Korean people courageously waged their just, patriotic struggle to oppose fascist rule and achieve their democratic rights and the fatherland's independent and peaceful reunification.

Thanks to the correct foreign policy of our party and the government of the republic, with independence, friendship and peace as their basic idea, and to their energetic external activities, the foreign relations of our country have been further widened and international solidarity with our revolution has been further strengthened.

Keeping pace with the magnificent, all-out advance movement to implement the decisions of the Sixth KWP Congress, Chongnyon and compatriots in Japan made great progress last year in their patriotic movement. By initiating a 300-day patriotic innovation movement and by energetically calling on all its functionaries and compatriots to join in this loyal, patriotic movement, last year Chongnyon further consolidated its ranks organizationally and ideologically and comprehensively developed the movement of Koreans in Japan on a new, higher level.

Through the struggle to implement the party's policy of imbuing Chongnyon with the chuche idea, the ideological system of chuche has been thoroughly established within its organizations at all levels and its functionaries and compatriots have more solidly armed themselves with the chuche idea of our party. Today, all Chongnyon functionaries are filled with firm faith in the victory of the chuche revolutionary cause; and all Chongnyon organizations have been consolidated into loyal, patriotic ranks to reliably and continuously carry out the movement of Koreans in Japan.

With the successful implementation of the mass line of our party in Chongnyon work, the compatriots' patriotic zeal and creativity greatly increased and an increased number of compatriots have united around the KWP and the government of the republic.

Last year, Chongnyon's national education work was conducted more briskly and lively, and great progress was made in the work of defending the democratic rights of the compatriots.

Holding aloft the proposal for founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo [DCRK] advanced by our party, Chongnyon actively supported and encouraged the South Korean people's just, patriotic struggle to achieve democracy and the fatherland's reunification and strengthened its solidarity with the world's progressive people as well as with the Japanese people, thus greatly contributing to isolating the nation-splitting forces at home and abroad and to implementing our party's line for the great national united front.

Compatriots in Japan are rejoiced over and encouraged by the successes gained by Chongnyon last year. Satisfied with these successes, I extend warm thanks to all Chongnyon functionaries and compatriots in Japan for showing endless loyalty to our party and the government of the republic.

The future of our revolution is promising and the spirit of the people in the fatherland is very high. Chongnyon functionaries and compatriots in Japan should glorify 1982 as the most glorious year in the history of the movement of Koreans in Japan by energetically, ambitiously, hopefully waging a patriotic movement in the new year.

Holding aloft the banner of the *chuche* idea, Chongnyon should more firmly establish the *chuche* ideological system -- our party's sole ideological system -- within its organizations at all levels and should vigorously carry out all its activities in accordance with the requirements of the *chuche* idea. Chongnyon should more firmly consolidate its organizations at all levels and develop all its functionaries and compatriots into *chuche*-type revolutionaries and ardent patriots who are loyal to the party and the revolution generation after generation.

By more correctly conducting indoctrination on the *chuche* idea and on socialist patriotism among Chongnyon functionaries and among compatriots, Chongnyon should help them have a correct *chuche*-oriented revolutionary view and invariably and resolutely struggle for the socialist fatherland and for the victory of the *chuche* revolutionary cause. In particular, by strengthening indoctrination work for the youths to meet the new situation in which a shift in generations has taken place among compatriots, it should firmly prepare these youths as the reliable successors to the movement of Koreans in Japan.

To firmly establish a system for our party's revolutionary work method and popular work style, Chongnyon should deeply mingle with the broad strata of compatriots to actively defend their democratic rights and interests. By indoctrinating all compatriots, it should vigorously struggle to rally them around their fatherland.

The fatherland's reunification is the most urgent task assigned our people. Chongnyon should more vigorously wage a patriotic struggle this year to found the DCRK by thwarting the nation-splittists' maneuvers to fabricate two Koreas. Chongnyon should firmly unite compatriots of all walks of life in Japan around the great national united front and under the banner of national reunification irrespective of differences in ideologies, systems, party affiliation and political views; vigorously support the South Korean people's struggle against fascism and for democratization; and further strengthen its international solidarity with the world's people as well as with the Japanese people.

Believing that Chongnyon will successfully accomplish the glorious patriotic task assigned it in the new year, I wish Chongnyon cadre members, including comrade chairman, good health and all compatriots in Japan happiness.

[Signed] Kim Il-song, president of the DPRK; Pyongyang, 1 January 1982

RPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREET'S KIM IL-SONG

SK010330 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2200 GMT 31 Dec 81

[New Year's message from RPR Central Committee to Kim Il-song]

[Text] To the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, the sun of the people and a revolutionary genius: A worthwhile year of struggle has just passed under the resplendent ray of a *chuche* sun, and 1982 -- a hopeful new year -- has brilliantly dawned. At this moment of seeing the old year out and the hopeful new year in on the underground battlegrounds the South, the hearts of our passionate party members and patriotic people of all walks of life throb with endless respect and admiration and burning loyalty to the respected and beloved leader. Their passionate feelings, fused into one, are endlessly working toward Pyongyang where the benevolent leader stays.

Greeting the significant new year and conveying unanimous, unswerving loyalty to Comrade Kim Il-song, the symbol of freedom and liberation and the great sun of the people, who has illustrated the future path of democracy and reunification with the ray of immortal chuche idea and led the revolutionaries and people of all walks of life in the South who trust and follow the fatherly leader only, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification [RPR] respectfully extends greetings to him, wishing him a long life.

At this moment when we greet the new year overflowing with a fighting spirit even in a forest of bayonets and encircled by reactionaries, we recall the past year of a sacred nation-saving struggle which was waged under the banner of ever-victorious and invincible Kimilsongism with endless pride to become the vanguard of chuche. The fascist tyranny of anticommunism reached its zenith last year. Our party, however, held high the great banner of Kimilsongism without knowing the slightest wavering or frustration. Together with people of all walks of life, it resolutely made a breakthrough in the grim struggle to achieve democracy, independence and reunification.

Through grim, protracted bloody struggles, RPR members were fostered and hardened; many new, young chuche-type fighters were trained; and the RPR ranks were strengthened. Last year the ideological aim of the student movement and the organization of the labor movement steadily advanced, the movement to oppose fascism and achieve democratization was carried out in close cooperation with the worker-peasant movement and the struggle of people of all walks of life developed into a sacred anti-U.S., nation-saving struggle. The anti-U.S. sentiment, which began to come to the surface in the wake of the Kwangju incident, finally erupted in the form of vigorous cries demanding the withdrawal of the Yankees. This was the manifestation of resolute hatred of the U.S. imperialists -- the ringleader of fascism and division -- and a historic fate which the American aggressors, who had long brought immeasurable misfortunes and sufferings to our people, had to meet.

The remarkable development of the situation in the South, which made the White House shudder and the Blue House grow terror-stricken, eloquently proved the justness of the chuche theory that the aggressors can never live peacefully while occupying and dominating other countries and that the more wicked the oppressors become the more organized and powerful the struggle of the people will become in opposing them.

Because revolutionaries and the people in the South struggled under the glorious and brilliant ray of the great Kimilsongism, they made great progress last year in their struggle to oppose imperialism and fascism and to save the country and achieve reunification.

The immortal chuche idea of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song spread last year when the treacherous clique's anticommunist frenzy was rampant, helping the oppressed people realize deep in their hearts that they were pioneers of their destiny and profoundly understand the truth of their struggle. This idea vigorously spread as a guidance banner encouraging the broad strata of the masses to wage a sacred struggle to achieve freedom and liberation.

In particular, the policy for the fatherland's reunification -- a plan for founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo -- delineated by the great leader was a torch in a sacred nation-saving struggle helping an increasing number of classes and circles in the South hopefully rise in struggle, visualizing a reunified fatherland in which the leader is held in high esteem.

That the great leader, the sun of the people, has endlessly glorified the northern half of the fatherland as a paradise of people's welfare on earth and as a utopia of mankind by wisely ruling the country in a chuche-type manner, constitutes a prime source of endlessly encouraging revolutionaries and people of all walks of life in the South who have struggled to build a new society and establish a new system.

By performing unprecedented miracles and creating a whirlwind of upsurge in the northern half of the fatherland -- an invincible stronghold of the chuche revolution and a beacon of hope for the South Korean people -- the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, a revolutionary genius, attained immortal achievements last year on the road of magnificent advance toward imbuing society with the chuche idea.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, the master of the art of guidance, developed the glorious KWP into an invincible vanguard party which led the revolution and construction with energy and passion and more firmly consolidated the ranks of its nucleus -- the ranks of successors -- which will complete the chuche cause. The Seventh Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea and the Sixth Congress of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, which were magnificently held in a festive mood in our era, represented the pride of chuche Korea, demonstrating the advance movement of millions of youth vanguards of Kimilsongism to steadily maintain the lifeline of the chuche cause, guided by the great leader and the glorious KWP and of the great nucleus force of workers.

Thanks to the skilled and tested leadership of the great leader and the glorious KWP, the northern half of the fatherland has built high, lasting monumental objects under the banner of the three revolutions and brilliantly decorated the first year of an all-out advance movement to implement the 10-point prospective plan for socialist economic construction amid an unprecedented production upsurge.

In accord with the magnificent program for the remodelling of nature unfolded by the great leader, the North Korean brethren have resolutely struggled to create the speed of tideland reclamation and construction of the Nampo lockgate and Taechon powerstation, thus astonishing the world and changing well-off chuche Korea into a paradise on earth which is more affluent and prosperous.

By brightly illuminating the future path of the era of independence, the great leader, the sun of chuche, has accelerated development of the Nonaligned Movement and the progress of the world revolution, thus adding a brilliant chuche chapter to the history of the struggle to liberate mankind. Last year, when the chuche sun shed a brilliant ray, seminars on the chuche idea were widely held in various places and countries in the world, including Dacca in Bangladesh, and new chuche study groups were formed in succession. As a result, Kimilsongism took root and attained rich results.

As revealed at the Pyongyang international symposium on increasing food and agricultural production, which was held under the deep care and warm consideration of the great leader and which gained many successes, the newly emerging nations were linked as one and united under the banner of anti-imperialism and independence. They vigorously waged a struggle for building a new society and for establishing a new international economic order, smashing the high-handed tyranny and despotism of the imperialist ruling forces.

Because of the absolute international authority and noble virtue of the respected and beloved leader -- sun of all men -- the proposal for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo put forth by the leader was strongly supported and welcomed by the myriads of mankind last year.

The waves of world-wide solidarity movements supporting our country's reunification have formed a rushing torrent, while the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, who have run wild in the two-Koreas plot maneuverings, have again been dealt a severe blow, thereby having more deeply fallen into the abyss of isolation internally and externally.

In reality, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song is the genius of revolution and construction who is leading the chuche revolution to the ever-victorious path, while holding himself responsible for the destinies of the nation and the times. He is the sun saving the world and people, who endlessly inspires the desire for a real life and the struggle of the nation and mankind and guides them to a brighter future.

We, who live and struggle looking up to the great leader as the sun of the nation and lodestar of freedom and liberation, are renewing our burning determination to successfully hasten the reunification and revolution, while keeping deep in our minds the great boundless honor of being warriors of Kimilsongism this year, too.

The year 1982 is the most meaningful and historic one marking the 70th birthday of the great leader, who our nation and the world's progressive people have warmly received and held in high esteem for the first time in history.

Because we have held the great leader in high esteem, the path to national revival has been pioneered, and we are able to enjoy today's glory. Thus, we keenly feel that the path of looking up to and following the leader for all ages guarantees the fatherland's reunification and the happiness of the generations to come. We hereby firmly pledge that we will carry out the revolution to the end as loyal subjects of chuche who will not falter under any adverse circumstances.

In this connection, we pledge with loyalty that we will adorn this meaningful year with new successes to be achieved in the sacred national salvation war against the United States and against fascism.

The realities of the South covered with bayonets, where fascist terrorism is rampant, are still horrible; and the future path of struggle and revolution is rigorous, rough and difficult. However, at this hour, when the rays of chuche sun brilliantly shine, the vanguard warriors of reunification and revolution and the revolutionaries throughout the country are burning with the indomitable fighting spirit. The workers, peasants, youths and students, intellectuals and religious men who aspire to democracy and reunification are overwhelmed with the conviction of certain victory.

Our party and people of all walks of life, who struggle under the chuche banner, will surely advance the glorious day when they hold the respected and beloved leader in high esteem on the unified land.

The fatherly leader's good health is an earnest desire of people in the South. The RPR Central Committee respectfully wishes long life to the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song -- the lodestar of the fatherland's reunification, genius of the revolution and sun of all men -- for the victory of reunification and revolution and final consummation of the chuche cause, and for the eternal happiness of the nation and eternal prosperity of the chuche era, reflecting the unanimous desire of our revolutionaries and people of all walks of life.

[Signed] RPR Central Committee; January, 1982, Seoul

RPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETES KIM CHONG-IL

SK031236 (Clandestine) Voice of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in Korean to South Korea 0300 GMT 1 Jan 82

[New Year's Message from RPR Central Committee to wise leader Comrade Kim Chong-il]

[Text] To the wise leader Comrade Kim Chong-il, the great lodestar of the nation: Courageously advancing along the single road to implement the revolutionary cause of reunification under the banner of the great Kimilsongism, we greet the first morning of 1982, the new year which will be more brilliant with victory and glory.

At this time of ending a year of rewarding struggle and the dawning of the first morning of the hopeful new year, the revolutionaries and patriotic masses in the South warmly wish a long life to the dear comrade leader, the only successor to the great leader. We are full of deep emotion.

On this significant new year, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification extends the greatest honor and warmest New Year's greetings, reflecting the unanimous desire of politicians, revolutionaries and patriotic people from all walks of life in the South, to the wise leader Comrade Kim Chong-il, who illuminates the road of revolution and reunification with invincible Kimilsongism, who accords invincible courage and faith to us and who is the supreme (?model) of the believers of Kimilsongism and the brilliant sun of communism.

In retrospect, the year 1981 was filled with a series of turbulent events in our country and the world as well. It was a glorious one brilliantly embroidered with new immortal exploits and achievements registered in the proud chronicle of succeeding and consuming, generation after generation, the revolutionary cause of chuche which was pioneered in the Paektu forests.

Last year, a march for modelling the whole society on Kimilsongism was waged like a gust of wind. Its every proud and sacred footstep had been brilliantly engraved with the tested guidance of Comrade Kim Chong-il -- the brilliant sun of communism who is a paragon of loyalty -- as well as with the experienced leadership of the great leader, the sun of chuche.

The sagacious comrade leader has led the van in these times and in the revolution, while having been charged with the sacred mission of brilliantly consummating the fatherly great leader's revolutionary cause. Last year, too, he more firmly consolidated the northern part of the fatherland as the (?birth place) of chuche revolution and as the invincible fortress of socialism. Thus, he highly accomplished monumental exploits which will be immortal in the revolutionary history.

The dear comrade leader -- the guiding star of chuche -- has further consolidated and developed the KWP, created by the great leader, as the eternal party of Kimilsongism which will overcome any hardship or ordeal and lead the chuche revolution to final victory. He has extraordinarily accelerated the cause of modeling the whole society on Kimilsongism.

The sagacious comrade leader, who embodies the ideology and leadership of the great leader with loyalty, has further consolidated the political and ideological unity of the entire party and whole society under the banner of Kimilsongism. He has more firmly consolidated the ranks of successors to the chuche revolution and the main force for modeling the whole society on the chuche idea.

The Seventh Congress of the League of the Socialist Working Youth of Korea and the Sixth Congress of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, both of which were grandly held with the fatherly leader in attendance, were strongly seething with the firm conviction and sheer loyalty of consummating the cause of Kimilsongism to the end under the guiding star of chuche. The congresses have caused a great stir of admiration unheard of in the century. This is one more distinguished service that only the dear comrade leader -- the only successor to the leader -- could achieve.

Last year, the outstanding comrade leader -- genius of creation and construction -- had successfully guided the grand socialist construction battle for implementing the decisions of the Sixth KWP Congress, thus more fully embodying the far-sighted plan of the respected and beloved leader in the fatherland.

Because the dear comrade leader -- paragon of loyalty -- is most brilliantly realizing the respected and beloved leader's lofty intention, the northern part of the fatherland achieved again last year the greatest miracle and upsurge in world economic history, thereby grandly having erected long-range monumental creations and widely demonstrating the might of chuche socialist power.

The brothers in the North have overcome abnormal weather conditions under the sacred rays of the sagacious comrade leader, thereby waving the flag of victory and demonstrating the boundless vitality of the chuche farming method on the piles of harvested grain. They are displaying the spirit of heroic Korea by implementing the four-point nature-remaking projects.

They achieved a brilliant success in the first year battle for attaining the 10 major prospective targets put forth by the great leader and highly displayed the prestige of chuche Korea to the world. This is a precious result of the talented guidance of the dear comrade leader, who has led the party and the people in the van of the new solemn march of adding the speed battle to Chollima so that ideology, technology and culture can be remodelled to accord with the requirements of chuche and so production, study and life can be conducted in line with the anti-Japanese guerrillas.

The sagacious comrade leader -- the great Kimilsongist -- has accelerated the victory of Kimilsongism through wisdom and extraordinary leadership, thus glorifying the chuche era.

Last year the activities of the chuche idea believers to study, master and propagate the chuche idea were extensively staged in all parts of the world, including Dacca, Bangladesh, and Georgetown, Guyana. The Nonaligned Movement was strengthened and developed under the banner of anti-imperialism and independence. This indicates that the world is moving in line with the will of the great leader and the sagacious comrade leader and that Kimilsongism is ever-victorious on earth.

The sagacious comrade leader has brilliantly enacted the cause of human liberation with the rays of great Kimilsongism. Because of this, electric waves carrying the warm gratitude and enthusiastic greetings wishing a long life to the sagacious comrade leader are coming to Pyongyang. The hymn of infinite reverence and loyalty from the world people who are looking up to the sun of chuche and the guidance star of chuche is resounding on earth and in the sky.

The great leader and the dear comrade leader are winning absolute dignity and prestige abroad and are enjoying respect and reverence from the progressive people of the world. Last year voices supporting the proposal for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo and condemning splittists reverberated throughout the five continents of the world.

Indeed, because of the sagacious comrade leader, who has cherished the brilliant rays of the sun of chuche and the rays of loyalty of the respected mother Kim Chong-suk, the brilliance of today and a promising future of the chuche fatherland are evident, and the infinite prosperity of the era of Kimilsongism and the bright future of mankind have been guaranteed.

Last year, establishing our view of the world and our view of life under the rays of the sun of chuche and the guidance star of chuche, we vigorously staged a sacred struggle for democracy and reunification, following the banner of Kimilsongism lifted up by the dear comrade leader.

Cherishing deep in their hearts the truth that only struggle can win democracy and civil rights and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, revolutionaries and patriotic people of all walks of life in the South repeatedly lifted up the flames of antifascist resistance for democracy and staged a stern struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors' occupation and domination of this land and their two-Koreas plot.

The antifascist movement for democracy was staged in connection with the labor movement. This movement was developed into a sacred anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation. This was an advance resulting from the strategic and tactical policies of Kimilsongism for the revolution and reunification.

In particular, the number of believers and supporters of the chuche idea sharply increased amid the flames of sacred patriotic struggle, and many young revolutionary fighters of chuche were trained and fostered. Thus, the ranks of revolution and reunification were strengthened both qualitatively and quantitatively. This eloquently proves that Kimilsongism, heeding the principle of the chuche idea, is bearing abundant fruit even in the South, the bastion of anticommunism and fascism.

Therefore, the names of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, who created the immortal chuche idea, and the sagacious leader Comrade Kim Chong-il, who is standing at the head of the chuche revolution and is shedding light on us with the rays of guidance of Kimilsongism, have become a symbol for freedom and liberation and a banner of victory and glory among revolutionaries and patriotic people in the South. The great Kimilsongism has become the only rudder for the revolution and reunification. It is an ever-victorious and invincible banner.

Indeed, because of the dear comrade leader, who has upheld and followed the lofty will of the fatherly leader, and because of the great Kimilsongism, which is illuminating the road of reunification and revolution, all party members and patriotic people of all walks of life can possess the source of infinite strength and be able to victoriously stage the anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle for national salvation.

We, who have vigorously struggled under the ever-victorious and invincible banner of Kimilsongism, are resolved to continue the indomitable struggle for the victory of the revolution for reunification. The nation and the progressive people will greet, in the near future, the 70th anniversary of the birth of the great leader and the 39th anniversary of the birth of the dear comrade leader as a most significant political festival. Greeting the year of glory in which unprecedentedly happy events fall, we hereby pledge not only to prepare ourselves to become the loyal followers of Kimilsongism who uphold and follow generation after generation the sun of chuche and the guidance star of chuche but also to concentrate our energy on imbuing the party and the ranks of revolution with Kimilsongism.

We will also make a new turning point for the victory of the struggle for the revolution and reunification in the South by lifting up the strong flames of struggle to smash the brutal fascist dictatorship, to win democracy and civil rights, to smash the obstacles of division, to found the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo, to drive out the Yankee aggressors and to achieve national sovereignty.

The U.S. imperialists and their stooges are desperately trying to smash the anti-U.S. and antifascist resistance for national salvation by our party and people of all walks of life in the South. However, we, together with all people, will expedite the victory of the revolution for reunification.

The peace and good health of the dear comrade leader is the infinite joy and happiness of the nation and the mankind. It is also a firm guarantee for the final victory of the fatherland's reunification and the cause of Kimilsongism. Cherishing the unanimous aspirations of the party members and patriotic people of all walks of life, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification respectfully wishes the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il, the only successor to the great leader and the brilliant sun of communism, a long life and good health for the victory of the revolution for reunification, for the completion of the chuche cause and for the infinite prosperity of the era of Kim Il-song and Kim Chong-il.

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification 1 January 1982, Seoul

NODONG SINMUN VIEWS CABINET CHANGES IN SOUTH

SK060532 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2249 GMT 5 Jan 82

[NODONG SINMUN 6 January commentary: "What Does the Puppets' Cabinet Shakeup Mean?"]

[Text] A cabinet reshuffle was carried out on 4 January in South Korea. At the Cabinet reshuffle drama directed by traitor Chon Tu-hwan, the puppet prime minister and vice prime minister were replaced. Some puppet economic ministers and the puppet minister of the unification board were also replaced. Along with the Cabinet reshuffle, the puppet presidential secretary general and puppet ambassador to the United Nations were replaced.

As foreign news media say, the Chon Tu-hwan clique's Cabinet reshuffle is a product of worsening political and economic crises in South Korea. It is nothing but a drama to reorganize the fascist ruling system with more vicious servants. This is fully revealed in that the new puppet prime minister, vice prime minister and ministers are without exception those who took the lead in seeking repression of the people, plundering, nation-selling and division and those who have close ties with Chon Tu-hwan, the head of the military fascists.

It is well-known that the Chon Tu-hwan clique, since its usurpation of power with guns and swords under the support of the U.S. imperialists, has continued to strangle democracy, relentlessly kill people, purge political dissidents on the pretext of political reform and block their activities. On the pretext of social purification and reducing the size of organizations, it also has continued to expel countless politicians and government employees who displeased the clique from their posts and has given those posts to its faithful servants.

The Cabinet shakeup is a continuation of the schemes to reorganize the political system with even more vicious servants. This reveals that the purge which began in the lower echelons of the puppet regime has now reached the upper echelon.

Foreign news agencies say that the Chon Tu-hwan clique's Cabinet shakeup is aimed at soothing the South Korean people and business circles and reviving the depressed economy. The objectives of the puppets Cabinet shakeup were fully disclosed by the Chon Tu-hwan clique's gibberish in announcing the reshuffle. Saying that the reshuffle had to do with the economic ministries, it clamored that it hoped to seek the so-called economic-social development plan with the new economic team, overcome economic difficulties and galvanize the economy.

Because of the Chon Tu-hwan clique's nation-selling treacherous crimes, only depression, disorder, bankruptcy and downfall reign in South Korea. Thus, the South Korean economy is falling into irreversible bankruptcy in the industrial, agricultural, commercial, foreign trade and other sectors.

As was noted by a report of the Development Research Institute of South Korea, in 1982, bankruptcy and turmoil in South Korea will worsen. As a result, the trade deficit will far exceed the \$5.5 billion figure of last year. Foreign loans will also increase by \$3.7 to \$4.5 billion when compared to foreign loans of \$30.2 billion last year.

The economic bankruptcy of South Korea cannot be overcome by replacing people or using gibberish. As long as South Korea remains as the colony of the U.S. imperialists, the economy remains a victim of the intrusion of foreign monopolists and the Chon Tu-hwan clique continues to seek a nation-selling and treacherous economic policy. The South Korean economy cannot escape submission and abnormality or extricate itself from bankruptcy. Nor can it relieve the South Korean people suffering the miserable living standard.

By replacing the puppet presidential secretary general, the minister of the Unification Board and the ambassador to the United Nations, the Chon Tu-hwan clique showed that the drama of the Cabinet shakeup is also aimed at approaching nonaligned nations through intensification of divisive and nation-selling diplomacy toward those nations.

In trying to extricate himself from international isolation, traitor Chon Tu-hwan visited Southeast Asian nations and sent his stooges to Europe and Africa. However, everywhere they received cold treatment. They gained only recognition of the poor situation of the lonely puppets.

The Chon Tu-hwan clique's Cabinet shakeup -- the replacement of fascist leaders -- is the outcome of the clique's worsening international isolation and another political trick to extricate itself from isolation and to perpetuate a policy of confrontation with us by the reinforcement of the diplomatic team with more vicious servants and the continuation of divisive and nation-selling diplomacy.

With such deceptive tricks as the Cabinet reshuffle, the Chon Tu-hwan clique cannot quench the people's fighting spirit against fascism and escape growing denunciation and rejection by people at home and abroad. Nor can it save the bankrupt South Korean economy.

What is demanded by the South Korean people, youth and students is not the replacement of several figures but liquidation of the Chon Tu-hwan military dictatorship and complete social and political reform. Their demand cannot be satisfied without elimination of the Chon Tu-hwan murderous group -- the most atrocious executioner of the colonial fascist rule and the murderer of the nation. As long as traitor Chon Tu-hwan remains in power and continues to seek fascist despotism and a nation-selling policy, the just struggle of the people will continue and they will certainly achieve their goals.

NODONG SINMUN EDITORIAL VIEWS CRISIS IN POLAND

SK052234 Pyongyang KCNA in English 2208 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Pyongyang, January 6 (KCNA) -- NODONG SINMUN, January 6 prints an editorial article titled "Concerning the Situation in Poland." The article reads in full:

Now the situation in Poland is still drawing the attention of the world. In connection with the social disturbance that has continued already for one year and several months, the Polish authorities proclaimed a martial law throughout the country some time ago and the country is under the control of the Martial Council of National Redemption.

The world public expresses different views on this and many people wonder the occurrence of such situation in a socialist country.

The proclamation of a martial law and the military control in Poland are an abnormal thing hardly conceivable in a socialist country. In the socialist country the people are the masters of the country and society and a democratic government is carried into effect for the people. Hence, under socialism the state gives play to the conscious enthusiasm and creative ingenuity of the popular masses, who uphold the state policy of their own accord. The proclamation of a martial law and the enforcement of a military power in socialist Poland are contrary to the usual practice of the socialist government.

It is regrettable for us that things have come to such a pass in fraternal Poland. According to reports, after the proclamation of a martial law the situation is gradually changing for the better and stability is being restored in Poland. As a matter of fact, the creation of a crisis and the proclamation of a martial law in Poland are a product of the former revisionist policy.

For the working class party to discharge its historic mission there are problems of principle which should be consistently adhered to in the whole period of socialist and communist construction. The most important thing here is to firmly ensure the leadership of the working class party, the general staff and guiding force of the revolution and the organizer and inspirer of all victories. To this end, the party should be firmly build up organisationally and ideologically and the party's leadership system be established in all state and social realms. The party should strike its roots deep among the popular masses and closely rally them around itself. Only then is it possible to strengthen the militancy and leadership of the party and organize and mobilize the popular masses to successfully carry out the revolution and construction.

But the situation in Poland in the past period showed that this fundamental problem was not correctly solved. As a result of the weakening of the party's leadership role, its leadership system was not established over the state and society. The party was isolated from the masses, the party's prestige and militancy were weakened and the party lost the trust and confidence of the popular masses.

Under such situation it is inevitable to suffer pains and undergo twists and turns in the political and social life and in the revolution and construction as a whole. Under the socialist system the people's government is a powerful weapon for carrying out the cause of the working masses and a faithful servant of the people. If the people's government is to discharge its mission satisfactorily, it should not only resolutely defend the socialist system which ensures freedom and happiness to the working masses but also smash the manoeuvres of the enemy who harbours enmity against this system and opposes it, and carry out economic policy which accords with the socialist principles and carry on the revolution and construction in reliance upon the political enthusiasm and creative ingenuity of the popular masses. When the people's government fails to do so, it cannot consolidate and develop the socialist system nor can it successfully accomplish the cause of socialism.

In Poland the counter-revolutionary elements of "KSS [Social Self-Defense Committee] KOR [Workers Defense Committee], "Confederation of Independent Poland" and "Solidarity" free trade union openly opposed socialism, raising their heads and strutting around, and various circles held strikes and demonstrations, discontented with the government's policy. It cannot but be considered that this is a result of the weakening of the function and role of the people's government.

Socialism and communism can be successfully built only by a high degree of conscious enthusiasm of the popular masses. In order to give play to their conscious enthusiasm, it is imperative to constantly conduct ideological education and to strengthen it still further as the revolution and construction advance. If this is weakened, the corrosion of the old ideas grows strong, people are easy to be contaminated by the bourgeois reactionary ideas from outside and this will do a big harm to the revolution and construction.

In Poland ideological education including education in socialist patriotism, has been neglected so far and the door opened to the ideological and cultural infiltration of imperialism. If the masses are left defenceless in ideology, class consciousness and pride in socialism are paralysed, individual selfishness and the Western way of life prevail among the people and, in the end, they cannot distinguish which is socialistic and which is anti-socialistic and are cajoled by the counter-revolutionary elements.

Under socialism there is only one democracy, a democracy for the popular masses, that is, socialist democracy. Socialist democracy alone is a genuine democracy which allroundly and practically ensures genuine freedom and rights to the popular masses who are the masters of the state and society.

But there is only "democracy" for a minority, a bourgeois democracy in capitalist society where the minority dominate the majority. "Democracy" on the lips of the imperialists is a sham democracy and "liberty" advocated by them is that for the exploiter class, a minority, not for the working people.

Socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy are incompatible. To introduce bourgeois democracy into the socialist system is like fixing the tail of a horse to a cow. This mixed democracy only revives bourgeois democracy.

In Poland socialist democracy has not been fostered to suit the intrinsic demand of the socialist system and reactionary bourgeois democracy has been allowed to infiltrate, so that dissoluteness and social disorder have been created and even the foundation of the state policy of the working class has been shaken. The serious problem caused in Poland by weakening the leading role of the party and the functions of the people's power, neglecting the ideological education of the people and allowing the reactionary bourgeois democracy, in the long run, damaged the gains of socialism.

To take the road of socialism today is the common purpose of the people struggling to achieve independence and an irresistible trend of the times. The countries which embarked upon the road of socialism before others with the victory of revolution should contribute to the acceleration of this trend by their practical examples in the revolution and construction. To this end, a working class party should maintain the revolutionary principle and build socialism better and faster. Only then can it enhance the prestige and attraction of socialism.

The commotion unbecoming to the socialist system and the proclamation of the martial law in Poland are surely a shameful thing which has smeared the image of socialism. Truth to tell, this is a disgrace to socialism.

It is, of course, an unhappy thing to proclaim a martial law in a socialist country.

But how could the Polish authorities sit calmly when the reactionaries attempted to overthrow the people's power and obliterate the gains of socialism in Poland?

We consider that the proclamation of the martial law in Poland was an inevitable step and a justifiable act which were taken to suppress the reactionaries by revolutionary means and safeguard the power of the working people at a critical moment when socialist Poland was standing at the crossroads of survival and fall in face of the counter-revolutionary action.

The reactionaries open challenge to the socialist system in Poland was part of the subversive activities of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States behind the scene to overthrow the socialist power. The U.S. imperialists have been the heinous enemy of socialism down through history.

Today the U.S. imperialists pursue a strategy of destroying the socialist countries one by one by subversive activities and sabotages and have chosen Poland as a major target of this strategy.

The U.S. imperialists, who had exhausted every means from long ago to detach Poland from the road of socialism, rendered support, material, financial and political, to the Polish counter-revolutionaries and perpetrated ideological and mental subversive acts through mass media, instigating them to a coup d'etat.

When the Polish authorities proclaimed the martial law and began to bring the situation under control, the U.S. imperialists, with malice, openly threatened and blackmailed the Polish Government and people and shamelessly interfered in her internal affairs.

This stripped bare the invariable aggressive nature and insatiable aggressive desire of the U.S. imperialists as the chieftain of world reaction and international gendarme. It is none other than the U.S. CIA which is to blame for the disturbance in Poland.

It is only too clear that the counter-revolutionaries could not strut about so arrogantly in Poland without the instigation and support of the U.S. imperialists.

The Polish question is an internal affair which the Polish people themselves must solve. The United States authorities must not continue to instigate the anti-socialist elements of Poland but take hands off her.

The Polish situation demands the peoples of the socialist countries, nonaligned countries and the Third World countries and other peace-loving people of the world to heighten vigilance against the U.S. imperialists' moves, clearly conscious of the plot of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency against Poland.

The people's power and socialist system of Poland are the revolutionary gains of her working class and people. For them, a large number of revolutionaries and patriotic people of the country shed blood in a sacred fight against aggressors and reactionaries. To this power and this system the Polish working class and working people owe their happy life after the resurrection of Poland. A prosperous future of Poland is promised only on the road of socialism. There is no other way. It is natural that the Polish working class and people of various strata are actively responding to the efforts bent by the Polish United Workers Party and government to defend the people's power and socialist system. We hope that the Polish problem will be smoothly solved by her own efforts.

KIM IL-SONG RECEIVES MESSAGE FROM LAO LEADERS

SK042230 Pyongyang KCNA in English 2202 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Pyongyang, January 5 (KCNA) -- The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, received a message from Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and prime minister of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and Souphanouvong, president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and president of the Standing Committee of the People's Supreme Council of the LPDR, in reply to his message of greetings sent to them on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

The reply message dated December 23 reads: We extend sincere thanks to you for your warm felicitations offered on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

In the past period the peoples of Laos and Korea have supported and cooperated with each other in the cause of the struggle against imperialism and reactionaries. We hope for the continued consolidation and development of the friendly and cooperative relations between our two peoples. We take this opportunity to wish you good health and a long life as well as new success in carrying out the noble cause.

POLISH ENVOY PRESENTS CREDENTIALS TO KIM IL-SONG

SK310432 Pyongyang KCNA in English 2207 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Pyongyang, December 31 (KCNA) -- Leon Tomaszewski, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic to our country, on December 30 presented his credentials to the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Present on the occasion were Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Ho Tam and officials of the Polish Embassy in Pyongyang. After receiving his credentials the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song had a talk with the ambassador.

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM VISIT TO MALDIVES

SK290424 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0418 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] Pyongyang, December 29 (KCNA) -- The government delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by Vice-Premier So Kwan-Hui flew back home on December 28 from a visit to the Republic of Maldives. It was met at the airport by Vice-Premier Hong Si-hak and Chang Kuk-chan and other personages concerned.

CHON CALLS STABILITY KEY TO ECONOMY, SECURITY

SK010240 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 1 Jan 82 p 4

["Text" of South Korean President Chon Tu-hwan's 1982 New Year's message]

[Text] My fellow countrymen everywhere: Today we greet the dawning of the Year of the Dog; a year in which the goals of the Fifth Republic must be advanced even more vigorously. At the beginning of this year of new hope, I pray for happiness and good luck for all fellow citizens who are devoting themselves to the stability and progress of the country. I also ardently wish that the new year will bring blessings to overseas Koreans, especially construction workers and trade representatives who are demonstrating our proud national spirit on the world scene.

At the same time, I am moved by profound sympathy for the compatriots in the communist-controlled North. It is my sincere hope that in the new year, we will progress in our efforts to achieve peaceful unification.

The year 1981 was a very difficult year the world over. Although there was no great war or economic catastrophe, there were mounting uncertainties and instabilities that shook the international political and economic orders no less severely than would a major war or economic calamity.

The past year was characterized by such events as the alarming state of affairs in Poland, the precariousness of the Middle East as symbolized by the Iraqi-Iranian war and the assassination of President as-Sadat of Egypt, sharp clashes between the left and the right in Latin America, unprecedented economic stagnation gripping industrial nations and rising trade friction.

In spite of such harsh circumstances, the Republic of Korea succeeded, through the concerted efforts of everyone, to turn 1981 into a historically momentous new beginning. With the goal of establishing a democracy ensuring social justice and economic well-being, we were able to overcome the political and social chaos that had persisted since the latter half of 1979 and establish a solid foundation for the Fifth Republic.

The new start did not simply involve political reform alone, but was a response to the historical necessity to cast away, once and for all, the backward patterns of thought and behavior that had long pervaded all walks of life. Thus 1981 was a year of change and progress, a year of renewal in attitude and outlook.

Faced with an international economic recession and necessary but difficult shifts in domestic economic policies, the nation responded with steadfast inner strength to bring the economy gradually out of the overheated condition of the recent past and bring inflation under increased control.

In international relations also, 1981 was a very significant year. Through vigorous diplomatic endeavors, including official visits to the United States of America and the five members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, we were able to reaffirm our self-image as a newly industrializing nation on the eve of a great Pacific era. This was a great impetus to our efforts to open the doors of the nation to all countries and achieve greater internationalization.

Korea's energetic advance onto the world stage was illustrated by the awarding to Seoul of the Olympics -- the greatest festival of mankind -- and the Asian games -- a peaceful encounter of two billion Asians. Rather than exulting over these successes, we should treasure the confidence that the world placed in our national stability, capabilities and maturity.

Looking back on the achievements of the past year, I feel that they are the crowning glory of the united and dedicated efforts of all Koreans. Thanks to the unflinching national resolve to seek stability, the united determination to launch the new republic and the devoted efforts of individual citizens to faithfully discharge their duties, we now joyfully greet 1982 -- a year brimming with hope.

Fellow countrymen, although the achievements of last year were great, we must remember that we still have a long way to go. The goal of a democracy assuring social justice and economic well-being is not easily attained in one or two years, especially, while at the same time reinforcing the safety and peace of the country. Our desired goals will become tangible realities only when we exert sustained efforts without becoming conceited at recent accomplishments nor frustrated by current ordeals. Accordingly, 1982, the second year of the Fifth Republic, should be the year in which our goals are reaffirmed and our efforts redoubled.

If 1981 was a year to get started, 1982 ought to be a year to pick up steam. If the past year was a year of pledges, the new year ought to be a year to translate them into action. Our creative initiative should focus on shoring up the sectors of society which are lagging behind and further stimulating those that are already advancing ahead. In such a way, 1982 will go down in history as a year of glorious achievement and advancement.

As you all know, 1982 is the first year of the Fifth Five-Year Economic and Social Development Plan designed to generate great momentum for a second economic take-off. This plan reflects the desire shared by all to strengthen all aspects of the national economy and to improve the quality of life. In other words, our aim is not only to achieve material affluence but the balanced development of different regions and social strata and the flowering of culture and the arts. We are thus committed to seeking greater qualitative improvements in both material things and in our spiritual life.

Upon launching the new five-year plan, I call on all citizens to keep in mind a clear vision of all our goals including those in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, and to move vigorously and systematically ahead. The world economic prospects for this year do not look especially bright. Fortunately, however, there are emerging signs that world trade will grow, owing in part to stabler oil and raw material prices. Accordingly, with a little more self-confidence, perseverance and self-restraint, I am convinced that within this year, Korea will be able to achieve sustained growth leading to a second takeoff.

Fellow citizens, stability is of utmost importance to growth and progress for, just as it is difficult to build in an earthquake zone, so it is impossible to achieve economic development without stability. We paid a high price for that lesson just a short time ago.

If stability is to be achieved we must all think of ourselves as being on a ship. Should we quarrel among ourselves, each fighting to navigate toward a different destination, we should merely pitch and drift. All Koreans are bound by a community of destiny, sharing together all the difficulties and benefits of living in this land. With a sense of this common destiny, we must resolve to work in concert to diminish the bad and increase the good; thereby making 1982 a happier year. May the hopeful, bright light of the new year bless all fellow citizens throughout the land.

CHON ORDERS LIFTING OF CURFEW ON 5 JAN

SK010946 Seoul Domestic Service in Korean 0900 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Excerpt] The midnight to 0400 curfew will be lifted throughout the country except for certain areas as of midnight on 5 January. Through the senior presidential secretaries concerned, President Chon Tu-hwan today ordered the government ministries concerned to discuss lifting the curfew at the next Cabinet session to be held on 5 January, and to make all preparations so that the curfew can be lifted as of midnight of 5 January.

President Chon said that the issue of lifting the curfew was unanimously proposed by the National Assembly and that the government has so far continuously examined the proposal. He continued to note that because all areas had remained calm especially during this past Christmas, New Year's Eve and New Year's Day, it would have been desirable to lift the curfew beginning 3 January, when suspension of the curfew for the New Year holiday period ends. However, he ordered that the Cabinet session to be convened 5 January handle this matter because there are necessary requirements that must be met and administrative procedures implemented.

Revealing President Chon's orders, Chongwadae spokesman Yi Ung-hui said the nighttime curfew will be lifted throughout the country except for some vulnerable locations such as the areas adjacent to enemy territory and along the coastlines.

TONG-A-ILBO Report

SK020907 Seoul TONG-A ILBO (Special Edition) in Korean 2 Jan 82 p 1

[Text] Effective the night of 5 January (0000 of 6 January), the 37-year-old night time curfew will be lifted in all areas of the nation except frontline areas adjacent to enemy territory and some vulnerable areas along the coastline. This measure will be taken in accordance with an order by President Chon Tu-hwan. On 1 January he ordered the government ministries concerned to discuss lifting the curfew at the next Cabinet session to be held 5 January and to make all preparations so that the curfew can be lifted effective that night.

However, considering the special circumstances from the viewpoint of security and public order, the curfew will remain in effect in 292 up [township] and myon [town] in the nation's 52 counties -- the frontline areas adjacent to enemy territory and vulnerable areas along the coastline. The areas where the curfew will remain in effect comprise 71 up and myon in 10 counties in Kyonggi and Kangwon Provinces, which are adjacent to enemy territory along the frontline, and 221 up and myon in 42 counties along the coastline in rear areas. This notwithstanding, the curfew will be lifted in all urban areas along the coastline. However, of the 254 islands in Kyonggi Province, 58 inhabited islands will remain under curfew.

1. Frontline areas adjacent to enemy territory: (71 up and myon in 10 counties)

A. Kyonggi Province -- All 13 up and myon of Kanghwa County; Wolgot Myon, Hasong Myon, Taegot Myon and Yangchon Myon of Kimpo County; all 9 up and myon of Ongjin County; all 14 up and myon of Paju County; all 7 myon of Yonchon County.

B. Kangwon Province -- All 6 up and myon of Chollwon County; all of Hwachon County; all of Yanggu County; Inje Up, Puk Myon, Nam Myon, and Sohwa Myon of Inje County; all of Kosong County.

2. Coastal areas in the rear sector: (221 up and myon in 42 counties)

A. Kyonggi Province -- Kunja Myon, Sorae Myon and Suam Myon of Sihung County; Songsan Myon, Sosin Myon, Changan Myon, Panwol Myon, Ujong Myon, Hyangnam Myon, Namyang Myon, Maesong Myon, Paltan Myon, Mado Myon and Pibong Myon of Hwasong County; Posong Myon and Hyondok Myon of Pyongtaek County; Kundan Myon of Kimpo County.

B. Kangwon Province -- Kanghyon Myon, Yangyang Myon, Sonyang Myon, Hyonbuk Myon and Hyonnam Myon of Yangyang County; Chumunjin (?Up), Yongok Myon, Sachon Myon, Kangdong Myon and Okgye Myon of Myongju County; Samchok Up, Kundok Myon and Wondok Myon of Samchok County.

C. South Chungchong Province -- Inju Myon of Asan County; Sinpyong Myon, Songak Myon, Songsan Myon, Kodae Myon, Sokum Myon, Taehoji Myon and Chonghi Myon of Tangjin County; Taesan Myon, Chigok Myon, Songyon Myon, Sosan Up, Pallang Myong, Inji Myon, Pusok Myon, Taeam Myon, Nam Myon, Kunyo Myon, Sowon Myon, Wonbuk Myon, Kobuk Myon, Ibuk Myon and Haemi Myon of Sosan County; Kalsan Myon, Sobu Myon, Kyolsong Myon, Unha Myon and Kwangchon Up of Hongsong County; Chongbuk Myon, Chongso Myon, Ochon Myon, Chupo Myon, Taechon (?Myon), Nampo Myon, Chusan Myon, and Ungchon Myon of Poryong County; So Myon, Piin Myon, Chongchon Myon, Maso Myon, Changhang Up, Hwayang Myon, Hansan Myon and Yanghwa Myon of Sochea County.

D. North Cholla Province -- Songsan Myon, Napo Myon, Okgu Myon, Hoehyon Myon, Taeya Myon, Kaejong Myon, Oksan Myon and Misong Up of Okgu County; Ungpo Myon of Iksan County; Chongha Myon, Mangyong Myon, Chinbong Myon, Kwanghwal Myon, Songdok Myon and Chuksan Myon of Kimje County; Haeksan Myon, Tongjin Myon, Haso Myon, Sannae Myon, Puan (?Up), Chusan Myon, Poan Myon, Chulpo Myon, Kyehwa Myon, Haengan Myon and Sangso Myon of Puan County; Hungdok Myon, Puan Myon, Simwon Myon, Haeri Myon, Sangha Myon and Asan Myon of Kochang County.

E. South Cholla Province -- Yonggwang Up, Hongnong Myon, Popsong Myon, Paeksu Myon, Namsan (?Up) and Kunnam Myon of Yonggwang County; Hampyong Up and Sonbul Myon of Hampyong County; Haeje Myon, Hyongyong Myon, Chonggye Myon, Samhyang Myon and Mangun Myon of Muan County; Samho Myon and Miam Myon of Yongam County; Haenam Up, Sani Myon, Masan Myon, Hwawon Myon, Munnae Myon, Hwangsan Myon, Kyegok Myon, Hwasan Myon, Hyonsan Myon, Songji Myon, Pukpyong Myon and Samsan Myon of Haenam County; Kangjin Up, Toam Myon, Kundong Myon, Chilryang Myon and Taegu Myon of Kangjin County; Taedok Myon, Kwansan Myon, Yongsan Myon and Anryang Myon of Changhung County; Hoechon Myon, Tukryang Myon, Polgyo Up and Chosong Myon of Posong County; Pyolryang Myon and Haeryong Myon of Sungji County; Tonggang Myon, Taeso Myon, Namyang Myon, Kwayok Myon, Tuwon Myon, Kohung Up, Toyang Up, Pungyang Myon, Podu Myon, Tohwa Myon and Chomam Myon of Kohung County; Yulchon Myon, Sora Myon, Hwayang Myon, Ssangbong Myon and Samil Myon of Yochon County; Kwangyang Up, Kolyak Myon, Okgok Myon and Chinwol Myon of Kwangyang County.

F. North Kyongsang Province -- Pyonghae Myon, Kisong Myon, Puk Myon, Wonnam Myon, Kunnam Myon, and Uljin Up of Uljin County; Namjong Myon, Kanggu Myon, Yongdok (?Up), Chuksan Myon, Yonghae Myon and Pyonggok Myon of Yongdok County; Chihaeng Myon, Kuryongpo, Tonghae Myon, Uichang (?Up), Chongha Myon and Songra Myon of Yongil County; Yangiam Myon, Yangbuk Myon and Kampo Up of Wolsong County.

G. South Kyongsang Province -- Kangdong Myon and Onsan Myon of Ulju County; Kijang Up, Ilgwang Myon, Changan Myon and Sosaeng Myon of Yangsan County; Noksan Myon of Kimhae County; Kusan Myon, Chindong Myon, Chinjaon Myon, Ungdong Myon and Chinbuk Myon of Uichang County; Kosong (?Up), Samsan Myon, Hail Myon, Hai Myon, Hoehwa Myon, Maam Myon, Tonghae Myon and Koryu Myon of Kosong County; Sachon Up, Sanam Myon, Yonghyon Myon, Chudong Myon, Konyang Myon and Sopo Myon of Sachon County; Kunnam Myon, Chingyo Myon and Kiljon Myon of Hadong County; Yongnam Myon, Tosan Myon and Kwangdo Myon of Tongyeong County.

CHON ADDRESSES CABINET ON OLYMPICS, ECONOMY 5 JAN

SK060124 Seoul YONHAP in English 0118 GMT 6 Jan 82

[Text] Seoul, Jan 6 (YONHAP) -- President Chon Tu-hwan Tuesday instructed the Cabinet to launch thorough preparations for the 1986 Asian games and 1988 Summer Olympics, both events to be staged in the South Korean capital, this year, and said that this year should see the stabilization of the Korean economy.

Addressing a Chongwadae (South Korea's presidential mansion) Cabinet meeting, the chief executive told the Cabinet to make a special effort to improve the nations living standards without alienating any sectors in the process. It was the first Cabinet meeting since Sunday's major Cabinet reshuffle, involving mainly economic portfolios. Chon stressed that the new Cabinet should redouble its efforts to establish a clean and responsible government, that is trusted by the people it serves.

REPORT SAYS TRADE DEFICIT HIGHEST SINCE 1979

SK060110 Seoul YONHAP in English 0107 GMT 6 Jan 82

[Text] Seoul, Jan 6 (YONHAP) -- Korea's trade deficits last year totaled 5,317 million U.S. dollars, the highest since 1979, when such deficits amounted to 5,283 million dollars, according to the Korean Traders Association (KTA) Wednesday.

The KTA said that the country's exports totaled 20.982 billion dollars in 1981, while imports reached 26.299 billion dollars on a cost, insurance and freight basis, thus resulting in trade deficits of 5,317 million dollars. The increased trade deficits last year were partly attributed to the excessive importation of crude oil and grains, which the drastic decline in the importation of materials for facilities investment could not offset.

THAI POLICY, TERRITORIAL PROVOCATIONS ASSAILED

BK060332 Phnom Penh SPK in French 1433 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Unattributed commentary: "Thailand Must Stop Its Hostilities Against the Kampuchean People"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 5 Jan (SPK) -- Thailand has just perpetrated a new piratical act against the PRK: On 28 December 1981 three vessels of the Thai Navy opened fire on a Kampuchean patrol boat and sank it. Five members of the Kampuchean crew were taken prisoner. This act occurred 15 km inside PRK territorial waters off Koh Kong Province.

However, to conceal their crimes, the Bangkok authorities are staging the comedy of a thief crying stop thief by presenting another version according to which the Thai vessels came to the aid of a Thai fishing boat chased by a Kampuchean boat. This version also says that the Kampuchean boat opened fire first.

This is a gross story which further reveals the Bangkok authorities' hostility to Kampuchea since its liberation from the clutches of Chinese expansionism and its lackeys -- the criminal Pol Pot clique. One recalls that since the fall of the genocidal Pol Pot regime, the lackeys of expansionism have enjoyed the aid and assistance of the Bangkok authorities. It is in Thailand that the assassins of the Kampuchean people have been given refuge and supplies. It is Thai territory that has been transformed into a sanctuary for such traitors and assassins as Pol Pot, Sihanouk and Son Sann, who have used it as a meeting place with the blessing of Beijing, Washington and other international reactionaries to form a so-called coalition government.

Bangkok's support of the reactionaries and assassins -- Pol Pot, Sihanouk, Son Sann and company -- is not limited to the political domain. It allows for the transfer of Chinese and U.S. arms to these traitors and covers up their infiltrations into Kampuchean territory. It is reflected in the almost daily bombardments of Kampuchean border positions by artillery of all calibers and in the violation of the PRK's territorial integrity by aircraft and vessels. During the week ending 24 December alone, Thai aircraft overflew Kampuchean territory 5 times, Thai artillery bombarded Kampuchean positions 93 times and armed Thai boats and vessels intruded into Kampuchean territorial waters 347 times.

The 28 December attack on the Kampuchean boat by the Thai vessels was, therefore, not an isolated case, nor was it, with greater reason, an incident, either. The Bangkok authorities must understand that they are playing a dangerous game for the benefit of the Beijing expansionists. A growing hostility to the Kampuchean people does not benefit the Thai people, nor is it in the interest of peace and stability in the region.

Bangkok must put an end to this anti-Kampuchean policy. It must immediately release the five crewmen of the Kampuchean boat attacked on 28 December. It must also put an end to the daily provocations at the Kampuchean border. It must stop interfering in Kampuchea's internal affairs.

THAI DECEMBER TERRITORIAL VIOLATIONS REPORTED

BK060646 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0420 GMT 6 Jan 82

[Text] Phnom Penh, 6 Jan (SPK) -- In December 1981, Thai planes overflew Kampuchean airspace 40 times. On 16 December alone, 11 overflights of Thai L-19's over Preah Vihear temple were reported. Kampuchean territory was fired on with 105 mm-cannons, 120-mm and 82-mm mortars, recoilless cannons and H-12 rockets 388 times, and additional artillery fire supported infiltrations of Pol Pot troops.

Koh Kong-Pursat: Thai planes overflew the region 13 times, in particular, Smat Deng and Hills 322, 336 and 199. The region was under Thai artillery fire of various calibers 152 times and Smat Deng alone suffered from 64 bombardements. On 4, 8 and 24 December Pol Pot troops infiltrated between 8 and 15 km west, southwest and northwest of Smat Deng.

Kampuchean combatants killed 54 of them and seized 16 weapons. On 2, 28 and 29 December hundreds of 120-mm mortar shells and H-12 rockets fell in the vicinity of Hill 322. On 20 December Thai border guards fired on Hill 329 at the border of Koh Kong Province.

Battambang: Seventeen Thai airplanes penetrated 3 to 5 km into Kampuchean airspace over Poipet, Pailin, Kamrieng and Ta Sanh. On 28 December the region suffered from 125 bombardments of 105-mm cannons from Thai territory, many of which were directed against the area west of Pailin.

Siem Reap-Preah Vihear: Ten overflights by Thai planes were observed, particularly over Preah Vihear temple. Various calibers of Thai artillery bombarded the region from Thailand 111 times with observation aid from Thai reconnaissance planes.

On 21 December Kampuchean border guards put out of action 33 Pol Pot soldiers who had penetrated 14 km north of Bak Anlung, and 17 guns were seized. On 5, 9 and 24 December many Pol Pot troops were killed west of Preah Vihear temple, north of Choam Khsan and north of Trapeang Kol. Faced with a counterattack by Kampuchean combatants, the survivors fled to Thailand.

During December, Thai ships and armed vessels entered Kampuchean territorial waters 1,253 times in the vicinity of Koh Tang and Koh Kong. A particularly serious fact: On 28 December three Thai Navy ships entered Kampuchean territorial waters and sank a Kampuchean boat on patrol, killing eight crewmen and capturing five others.

PAPER HAILS RESULTS OF VIENTIANE CONFERENCE

BK030850 Phnom Penh SPK in French 1429 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Phnom Penh, 2 Jan (SPK) -- The first meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the socialist countries, held in Vientiane on 18 and 19 December, ended its work in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and the participants reached unanimity on all issues raised for the purpose of consolidating peace and stability in Asia and the world, the paper KAMPUCHEA said in its latest issue. KAMPUCHEA stressed: The Vientiane conference reflected the foreign policy of peace pursued by the Indochinese countries, the USSR, other socialist countries and the peace-, independence-, democracy- and progress-loving forces who are struggling against the belligerent forces.

Concerning the Kampuchean problem, the conference stressed that it can only be resolved by the Kampuchean people and their government, which is their sole authentic and legal representative. The paper continued: The resolution of the international conference on Kampuchea and the other resolutions adopted by the United Nations without the participation of a representative from the PRK government run counter to the will and interests of the Kampuchean people and constitute gross interference in their internal affairs. Such acts are aimed at reimposing the genocidal Pol Pot regime. These decisions are illegal, immoral and invalid.

The proposals made by the LPDR at the 36th UN General Assembly advocating the development of relations based on peaceful coexistence between ASEAN and Indochina were supported by the Vientiane conference of deputy foreign ministers, which considered them to be conducive to the consolidation of peace and stability in this region and the rest of the world. The Vientiane conference stressed that the only way to guarantee peace and stability in this region is for imperialism and the other reactionaries to immediately stop interfering and causing instability and tension in the region and for the countries in the region to settle their problems on the basis of equality and mutual respect, without external interference. The participants pledged to concentrate all their efforts on contributing to the consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of the three Indochinese countries. They expressed unreserved support for the relations of solidarity and cooperation among the SRV, the LPDR and the PRK.

The success of the Vientiane conference of the deputy foreign ministers of the socialist countries constituted a hard blow to U.S. imperialism, Chinese expansionism and international reaction and showed that the socialist countries always stand for a peaceful settlement of problems, for proposals that are constructive and imbued with good will and for the interest of peace, independence and social progress.

PAST ACHIEVEMENTS, FUTURE TASKS OUTLINED

BK060444 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1100 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Unattributed commentary: "The Kampuchean Revolution Is Advancing Steadily"]

[Text] In 1981 various historic events took place in our country. The revolution in our country has advanced steadily. Our people have scored great victories in all fields:

1. The Fourth KPRP Congress held in May 1981 concluded with success. This is a historic event of the revolution in our country. Correctly implementing Marxism-Leninism in conjunction with the concrete situation in Kampuchea, the congress set forth the tasks and the progressive role of the revolution in our country in the current phase. The success of the congress clearly reflects the unanimity [words indistinct] and spirit of the entire party and all the people, and marks the progress of the party. The entire party and all the people are confident in and joyfully following the correct line of the party. They are determined to successfully fulfill the glorious tasks: To defend national independence and to build the fatherland so that it will progress step by step through the period of transition to socialism.

2. The people and cadres throughout the country, as masters of the country, actively took part in drafting the Constitution of the PRK. The elections of ward and commune people's committees were held successfully in all provinces and municipalities. Thus the local institutions of the people's power have been strengthened to an extent. The general elections to elect the National Assembly members -- in which 97 percent of the people took part with great joy and sense of responsibility -- proceeded successfully. At its first session, the First National Assembly adopted the Constitution of the PRK, set directives and tasks for the next few years and established various leading institutions of the state.

All these above-mentioned events are of great political significance both inside and outside the country. For the first time in the history of our country our people have taken part in making the fundamental laws of the country and enjoyed the rights of selecting and electing candidates that they trust to represent them in managing the national affairs. All of these events attest to the stability of our country, the genuine democratic status of the new regime and the people's confidence in the revolution.

3. Recently, another significant political event took place. It was the Third Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defense [KUFNCD] Congress, held in December 1981 with excellent success. The success of the congress highly enhances the union of all the people in order to increase the people's strength for the successful implementation of all revolutionary tasks.

4. All the political achievements have greatly encouraged the people throughout the country to emulate each other in order to create feats in all aspects of national construction and defense. The movement of launching production means patriotism has been greatly stimulated, particularly in the agricultural field. After 2 years of construction and development, the various production solidarity groups have been further strengthened. In 1980 the rainy-season rice production was successful; our people's life was gradually stabilized; and the peasants sold 15,000 tons of rice to the state. This year many regions were threatened by drought or floods. But, thanks to the production solidarity groups, our human forces are capable of overcoming natural disasters. Almost 1.3 million hectares of rice were planted in the country as a whole. This amount is almost the same as that planted in 1980, when there were favorable natural conditions.

Various major industrial crops have been gradually restored, such as 5,000 hectares of rubber and 3,700 hectares of tobacco. We have over 1 million head of oxen and buffalo, which provide draft power, and over 100,000 [as heard] pigs and chickens. The climate is favorable for this year's fishing season.

Up to now, hundreds of industrial bases and handicraft sites have been restored and a certain amount of commodities and farm tools have been produced. The production of necessary goods, such as farm tools, household utensils and so forth, in 1981 was greater than in 1980. During the 1981-82 scholastic year there are 1.5 million students and pupils throughout the country. That is 200,000 more than in the previous school year. There are 420,000 people attending the literacy and refresher courses. Last scholastic year there were 200,818 people recognized as being freed from illiteracy. Health networks have been expanded continuously. An insignificant number of cholera cases were reported during the past year. The people's health has improved. The diseases that used to plague the country during the Pol Pot era have been reduced noticeably.

Supported by the fraternal VPA, our armed forces and people have strongly defended the borders of our fatherland and frustrated all the subversive plans of the enemy during both the dry and rainy seasons. While carrying out combat and construction tasks, our armed forces -- regular, regional and militia forces -- have grown up to a greater extent. Political security and social order have been firmly maintained. Our armed forces and people discovered and crushed a number of traitorous organizations and defeated their provocative maneuvers. More misled elements have fled from the enemy ranks and returned to the people.

5. The spirit of international solidarity and the alliance of the three fraternal Indochinese countries have been enhanced in all aspects. By holding aloft the banner of truth against the common enemy -- the Beijing expansionists, who colluded with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary forces in the ruling circles of the ASEAN countries in an attempt to oppose and undermine the three Indochinese countries -- the third session of the meeting of foreign ministers of the three Indochinese countries in Ho Chi Minh City and the fourth session of the the Indochinese foreign ministers meeting in Phnom Penh clearly displayed our will to contribute to building peace, stability, friendship and cooperation among the Southeast Asian countries. The relations between our country and the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries have been strengthened and expanded. The Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries have assisted our people wholeheartedly. The conferences for solidarity with the Kampuchean people of the Asian-African People's Solidarity Organizations and the Asian-African and Latin American peoples have clearly displayed the support of progressive mankind for the just struggle of our people.

All of these above-mentioned victories have brought great joy to our people. Our friends are very happy. Our revolutionary forces have become stronger and the prestige and international role of our country have soared. We have created favorable conditions in order to seize more victories and successfully carry out the main tasks in 1982 by heightening vigilance, fighting vigorously and preparing combat readiness to crush all the subversive maneuvers and activities of the enemy, defend our country and maintain political security and social order, vigorously stimulating production, particularly agricultural production; striving hard to realize greater achievements in all fields than in 1980; closely uniting all the people; building and strengthening the revolutionary forces; consolidating and heightening international solidarity, particularly with friendly Vietnam, the Soviet Union, Laos and other fraternal socialist countries; and ceaselessly strengthening the alliance of the three Indochinese countries.

Although we still face many difficulties in this immediate period, the situation in Kampuchea is absolutely irreversible. Regardless of how many hundreds of schemes and plans the Beijing Chinese, in collusion with the Americans and the reactionary forces in the ruling circles of the ASEAN countries, resort to in order to oppose and undermine our Kampuchean revolution, in the end they will certainly suffer shameful defeats.

COUNCIL OF STATE ANNOUNCES NATIONAL DAY HOLIDAY

BK060244 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 2300 GMT 5 Jan 82

["Announcement of the KPRP Central Committee and the Council of State of the PRK" -- date not given]

[Text] According to the Constitution of the PRK, Chapter IX, Article 89, the date 7 January has been established as the National Day and the day to enhance the significance of the date 7 January 1979, when the Kampuchean people throughout the country, uniting closely as one man and enjoying the glorious international solidarity, permanently toppled the genocidal regime, liberated the country and people and seized the right to be the real masters of their own destinies in order to rebuild our beloved Kampuchea in accordance with the motto of independence, peace, freedom and happiness -- which are the sacred aspirations of our people.

The victory on 7 January 1979 had repulsed the activities to provoke a war of aggression by the Beijing hegemonist-expansionists, who attempted to use the Kampuchean territory as a springboard for the launching of attacks, aggression and expansion against the Indochinese and Southeast Asian countries. Moreover, the victory on 7 January was the outcome of our people's protracted struggle, full of lofty heroism and numerous difficulties, to seize independence, freedom and peace for our beloved fatherland. This victory has also actively contributed to strengthening international peace, consolidated the revolutionary alliance of the three Indochinese countries and bitterly defeated the enemy's psychological warfare schemes, which have distorted the realities in the PRK.

By virtue of the Constitution and the above-mentioned considerations, on the solemn occasion of the third founding anniversary of the PRK on 7 January 1982 the KPRP Central Committee and the PRK Council of State decided to allow cadres, personnel, workers and people throughout the country to take a 2-day holiday on 6 and 7 January 1982 to celebrate the 7 January National Independence Day.

On this solemn occasion, cadres, personnel, workers, the armed forces and the security forces, as well as our people throughout the country, should continually heighten revolutionary vigilance in order to thoroughly maintain security.

On the occasion, the KPRP Central Committee and the PRK Council of State wish all the cadres, personnel, workers, the armed forces, security forces and the people throughout the country happiness, prosperity and successes in all revolutionary tasks.

PROVINCES GREET HENG SAMRIN ON ELECTION

Kandal Message

BK030826 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1230 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] On 12 December Comrade Hem Samin, secretary of the Kandal Provincial Party Committee, sent a message of congratulations to Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK Council of State, on the occasion of his nomination as KPRP Central Committee general secretary. The message read:

On behalf of the cadres, employees, workers, male and female combatants and people of Kandal Province, I would like to extend warm congratulations to you on your election as general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee. We wish you the best of health so that you can lead the Kampuchean revolution toward a glorious victory.

Kompong Cham Message

BK030900 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1230 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] On 14 December Comrade Preap Pichey, secretary of the Kompong Cham Provincial Party Committee and chairman of the provincial people's revolutionary committee, sent a message of congratulations to Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK Council of State, on his nomination as KPRP Central Committee general secretary. The message read:

Upon learning that you had been appointed by the KPRP Central Committee to the post of general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee, on behalf of the party committee, people's revolutionary committee, cadres, party members, combatants, employees, workers and people throughout Kompong Cham Province, I would like to convey to you our elation and profound revolutionary optimism. We appreciate the fact that your appointment to this high position constitutes an immense, historic, brilliant and glorious victory for our Kampuchean people and revolution.

The Kampuchean revolution is certainly advancing. The Kampuchean people will unfailingly strengthen their unity under the victorious banner of the KPRP. We wish you the best of health and more and greater successes in fulfilling your noble mission.

Representatives' Greetings

BK030812 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0400 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] Recently representatives of various provinces of the People's Republic of Kampuchea sent messages to greet Comrade Heng Samrin, who was elected as general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee. There were messages from representatives of Pusat, Battambang, Mondolkiri, Kratie and Stung Treng Provinces. These messages read, notably:

On behalf of the provincial party committee, cadres, employees, workers, male and female combatants and the entire people in the province, we are very elated to wish you well on the occasion of your election as general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee in order to lead the Kampuchean revolution to more, new and great victories in fulfilling the duties of building and defending the fatherland. We are determined to use all our physical, moral and intellectual forces to implement all duties entrusted by the party Central Committee and the people, particularly to strengthen national and international solidarity and be ready to smash all maneuvers of the enemies in order to build and defend the revolutionary gains in the advance to genuine social development.

May the comrade general secretary permanently enjoy the best of health.

AGRICULTURE MINISTRY MEETING REVIEWS CULTIVATION

BK050750 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0405 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Phnom Penh, 5 Jan (SPK) -- As of mid-December, peasants throughout the country had planted nearly 50,000 hectares of dry-season rice, or one-third of the planned norm, said a report presented at a meeting held in Phnom Penh from 28 to 30 December by the Ministry of Agriculture under the chairmanship of its minister, Kong Samol, to review past cultivation activities. Prey Veng Province has cultivated 20,450 hectares; Takeo Province, 11,300 hectares; and Kandal Province, 7,300 hectares of rice.

The people's power has supplied the people with 3,600 tons of rice seed, more than 23,000 tons of chemical fertilizer, 70,000 liters of insecticide, 100 tons of rat poison and a great quantity of farm implements.

According to the report, throughout the country, rains and drought have ravaged 14 percent of the cultivated principle rice crop area. Peasants have planted 141,000 hectares of subsidiary crops and 11,200 hectares of industrial crops.

The meeting participants highly praised the peasants' efforts and cited some exemplary localities that overfulfilled planned norms. They are Battambang, Pursat and Svay Rieng Provinces and Kompong Som city. The meeting adopted measures aimed at boosting agricultural production and increasing the output.

VODK REPORTS RESPONSES ON COALITION PROPOSAL

Chamka Leu Letter

BK030442 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian to Kampuchea 2330 GMT
1 Jan 81

[23 December letter on the loose coalition government proposal from 56 former Khmer soldiers, militiamen and employees who were forcibly drafted into service by the Vietnamese aggressors and who have joined the anti-Vietnamese resistance in Chamka Leu District, Kompong Cham Province, sent to Democratic Kampuchean leaders]

[Text] To Mr Nuon Chea, chairman of the Kampuchean People's Representative Assembly Standing Committee; to Mr Khieu Samphan, chairman of the State Presidium and prime minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea; through the good office of the FOFGUNUK Committee of Chamka Leu District, Kompong Cham Province:

We the undersigned, 56 former Khmer soldiers, militiamen and employees forcibly drafted into service by the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, would like to extend our salutations to you and inform you about our opinion regarding the communique and circular on the loose government. We hold that it is imperative not to form a loose coalition government, for such a government cannot fight and defeat the Vietnamese. With such a government, the Vietnamese would certainly swallow and massacre our nation. We have come to this opinion because we do not like the Vietnamese. We hate them beyond any words, for we know them very well and we cannot forget all the stories told us by our elders. When we were with the Vietnamese, we thought that we would work for our living and would be allowed to live an ordinary life in peace. However, we could not live in peace, as the Vietnamese forcibly drafted us into their service as soldiers, militiamen and employees in the villages and communes. Even when we accepted the humiliation of serving them as soldiers, militiamen and employees, we could not live in peace. They not only massacre, destroy and plunder those who refuse to serve them, but also our relatives and children.

We painstakingly served them, leaving our wives and daughters behind at home. The Vietnamese raped our wives and daughters as they liked. They forced us to rob and kill our kith and kin in the villages and communes. How could we kill our own Khmer compatriots and our kith, kin and neighbors who, since childhood, have been good to us and never had any ill will toward us? When we refused to comply with their orders, the Vietnamese accused us and arrested us on charges of disobeying them, opposing them and refusing to carry out their arrest and conscription laws.

Since 1979, the Vietnamese have launched four to five purges against village, commune and district soldiers, militiamen and employees in various areas of our central region by arresting, suppressing, imprisoning and transferring them to other places. For this reason, we defected to the side of Democratic Kampuchea and joined in the struggle against the Vietnamese. The suffering of our nation and all of us is immeasurable. However, the thing which has constantly maintained our hope is that the army and guerrillas of Democratic Kampuchea are attacking the Vietnamese in a consistent and increasingly violent manner, causing the Vietnamese to live in a state of permanent fear. At present, only the army and guerrillas of the Democratic Kampuchean forces are resolutely sharing life and death with the nation and with us. Without the army, guerrillas and government of Democratic Kampuchea, who else will we and our nation be able to depend on?

With this reasoning, we would like to express our opinion that if there is a rallying of forces, these efforts should be made in such a manner as to not impair and harm the forces of the Democratic Kampuchean Army, guerrillas and Government.

We wish to see a union made possible so as to increase forces resisting the Vietnamese. However, it is not right to cause the existing forces to become loose, slack and dispersed.

In conclusion, we would like to pledge that we will resolutely follow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and unite with the Democratic Kampuchean Army and guerrillas and all compatriots throughout the country so as to pool our forces to attack the Vietnamese aggressors, defend the nation and liberate the country forever.

[Signed] Former Khmer soldiers, militiamen and employees; Chamka Leu District, 23 December 1981

'Unassociated' Group Response

BK060930 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian to Kampuchea 2330 GMT 4 Jan 82

[30 December letter on the loose coalition government proposal from a former "unassociated" group of 142 persons which has joined the anti-Vietnamese resistance on the Thmar Puok-northern Sisophon battlefield, sent to Democratic Kampuchean leaders]

[Text] To Mr Nuon Chea, chairman of the Kampuchean People's Representative Assembly Standing Committee; to Mr Khieu Samphan, chairman of the State Presidium and prime minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea; through the good office of the PDFGNUM Committee of the Thmar Puok-northern Sisophon sector:

We the undersigned, 142 members of a former unassociated group who are now joining hands with the Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas in the resistance against the Vietnamese enemy on the Thmar Puok-northern Sisophon battlefield, have listened to the broadcast by Radio Democratic Kampuchea on the communique and circular informing and requesting opinions from the entire Kampuchean nation and people on the national union and the question of a loose coalition government. Here is our opinion concerning this question:

Previously, because of our misunderstanding, we joined one of the unassociated groups which maligned Democratic Kampuchea and boasted that they were the ones who were fighting against the Vietnamese. Month in and month out and year in and year out, however, we did not see them fight the Vietnamese. All they did was feast, womanize, brawl and rob the people. Moreover, they kept slandering Democratic Kampuchea and stealthily stabbing it in the back. These actions eventually became too much for some people to accept. It reached the point where they occasionally remarked: If you do not fight the Vietnamese enemy, just keep quiet. Do not disturb those who are really fighting the Vietnamese.

As for all of us, we are greatly indignant at the Vietnamese enemy, who has killed and is killing our people and nation. For this reason, we decided to flee from this unassociated group to join the Democratic Kampuchean side in order to jointly fight the Vietnamese enemy in accordance with the appeal of the Democratic Kampuchean Government. We have seen with our own eyes that Democratic Kampuchea has implemented the policy of genuinely rallying the great national union without discrimination. It has tried to rally national forces and concentrated on fighting the Vietnamese enemy. We have no illusion whatsoever about this: Without Democratic Kampuchea fighting the Vietnamese enemy, Kampuchea would have been swallowed up by the Vietnamese by now; all of us would have lost our country; there would be no Kampuchean question to be discussed by the world; and, though it might not have become another Kampuchea Kraom, our country would have faced the same fate as Laos.

Having realized all this, we are of the opinion that we will be happy with and support any genuine coalition. We propose, however, that nothing should be done to impair the National Army, guerrillas and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which are resisting the Vietnamese enemy. If they want to join, they should pitch in their forces with the present resistance forces in order to increase the fighting strength against the Vietnamese enemy. If they do not want to join for whatever reasons, each group should fight the Vietnamese enemy separately.

The people, nation and history will certainly see and feel grateful to anyone who fights against the Vietnamese enemy. It would be ideal if they would come to fight the Vietnamese enemy directly in the country. If they cannot come to fight the Vietnamese in our country, they can also help fight the Vietnamese enemy outside the country. Our only request is that all sides avoid attacking each other, slandering fellow Khmers and seeking to split the anti-Vietnamese forces.

[Signed] A former unassociated group that is joining with the Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas in the resistance against the Vietnamese enemy on the Thmar Puok-northern Sisophon battlefield; 30 December 1981

CANADIAN PROFESSOR PAYS VISIT TO DK AREAS

BK060333 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian to Kampuchea 2330 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] On 22 December 1981 Professor (A. Joseph Liof), deputy director of the Research Center for East Asian Affairs, McGill University, Montreal, Canada; and Mrs (Anne Liof) visited Democratic Kampuchean-controlled areas.

They were warmly welcomed by cadres of the Foreign Ministry. They met cordially with leaders of the Democratic Kampuchean Government on 23 December. During their stay, the friendly guests visited a number of villages, such as Phum Thmei, Phum Boeng Trakuon, Phum Chamka Chek, Phum Sangke and Phum Chamka Trap, and attended an artistic show at Phum Thmei. They were warmly welcomed by the people and cadres of the PDFGNUM in every village. They were guided to visit various settlements and plantations, and view carpentry and blacksmith activities. The friendly guests noted the spirit of endeavor of the people to increase production, the preservation of national tradition and their spirit of solidarity and struggle.

On 24 December 1981 the friendly guests left Democratic Kampuchea, with the impression that Democratic Kampuchea is a concrete force that has struggled for national liberation and the Kampuchean race. It is also a force that obstructs the dangers of Vietnamese and Soviet expansionists in Southeast Asia and the world.

AFP: SIHANOUK DEPARTS FRANCE FOR BEIJING VISIT

NC011548 Paris AFP in English 1457 GMT 1 Jan 82

[Text] Mougins, southern France, 1 Jan (AFP) -- Former Cambodian ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who left here today on the first leg of a trip that will take him to Beijing, said he hoped to meet Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan in February. The prince left his home-in-exile in this town near the Riviera and headed by car for the Swiss border. He was to reach Geneva by Sunday and then take a Swissair jet to the Chinese capital, where he planned to stay two months.

Prince Sihanouk, heading one of the three main resistance forces opposed to the current Vietnamese-backed regime in Phnom Penh, said he will meet with Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders. He added, "I also hope that I will be able to meet in February with Khieu Samphan," president and prime minister of the ousted Khmer Rouge regime, which now calls itself Democratic Kampuchea. The prince had mentioned the possibility of such a meeting in a letter he sent last month to Khieu Samphan, whose group is part of the tri-partite coalition being envisaged to fight the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

FOREIGN MINISTRY SCORES U.S. USE OF THAI AIRBASE

BK051510 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1440 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Today, 5 January, our Foreign Ministry spokesman issued a statement on the renewed use of Utapao airbase by the United States. The statement says:

According to the Thai paper the NATION REVIEW on 26 December 1981, U.S. and Thai officials -- including the Utapao airbase commander -- publicly admitted that since November 1981 aircraft from the U.S. 7th Fleet have been authorized to use Utapao Airbase on a renewed basis under the so-called pretext of refueling and conducting joint U.S.-Thai training.

At a time when the U.S. imperialists are colluding with the Chinese expansionists to intensify their intervention in Kampuchea and oppose the three Indochinese countries, this action has further strained tension in this region.

Everyone still remembers that during its former war of aggression against the three Indochinese countries, the United States used Thailand as a base for its aircraft and warships, including B-52 aircraft, to carry out bombing and destructive shelling, perpetrating many crimes against the three peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

Following its defeat in Indochina and faced with the violent protest of the American and Thai peoples, the United States had to dismantle these bases. Now, refusing to learn a lesson from its defeat, the United States again plots to return militarily to Southeast Asia and once again has linked Thailand to its war machinery.

This is a very dangerous plot seriously threatening the peace and security of the three peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and other peoples in Southeast Asia. All U.S. efforts to reverse the direction of history, however, will not be spared strong condemnation by peace-loving and progressive peoples in Southeast Asia and the world, including the American and Thai peoples. These efforts will certainly end in shameful defeat.

The Thai authorities, by lending a hand to the United States, are running counter to the national interests of the Thai people and to the aspirations for peace and stability of the Southeast Asian peoples. They must be held responsible for their misdeeds. The Vietnamese people cannot help but keep a watchful eye on this dangerous deed by the U.S. authorities and demand that the Reagan administration immediately put an end to all its plots of military adventures.

WAR CRIMES COMMISSION DENOUNCES PRC ACTIONS

OW051640 Hanoi VNA in English 1610 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, January 7 [as received] -- The Vietnam Commission for Investigation of Chinese Expansionists' and Hegemonists' War Crimes against Vietnam today issued a communique denouncing the war crimes committed by Chinese troops against Vietnam in the last three months of 1981. The communique reads: The reactionaries in the Chinese leadership backed and abetted by the U.S. imperialists have been conducting a perfidious war of destruction against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The following are Chinese war crimes against Vietnam in the last three months of 1981:

1 -- Chinese reactionary troops continued illegally occupying Height 400 in Cao Loc District, Lang Son Province, and Heights 1800S and 1800B in Vi Xuyen District, Ha Tuyen Province, made 48 shellings and 66 intrusions into Muong Khuong and Bat Sat areas (Hoang Lien Son Province, Hoang Su Phi area Ha Tuyen Province), Quang Hoa, Ha Quang and Bao Lac areas (Cao Bang Province).

They carried out attacks and ambushes in other areas in Hoang Lien Son, Cao Bang and Lang Son Provinces, killing or wounding many civilians and domestic animals taking away a number of other people, destroyed many houses, warehouses, hospitals and schools, and burned hundreds of hectares of wood land in the districts of Van Lang, Cao Loc, Loc Ninh, An Ninh Lap in Lang Son Province.

Chinese troops increased their forces along the border with Vietnam, exerting military pressure and making war threats. They moved the 5th Armycorps to the border areas opposite Ha Tuyen and Cao Bang Provinces, brought 24 additional 105mm-cannon to the area of Marker-Post 17 opposite Muong Khong District in Hoang Lien Son Province, added another company and battalion to the border close to Phong Tho District in Lai Chau Province, organized military exercises, built military roads, consolidated trenches and battle-grounds along the border opposite Van Lang District in Lang Son Province, Tra Linh District in Cao Bang Province, Meo Vac and Vi Xuyen Districts in Ha Tuyen Province, and Muong Khong District in Hoang Lien Son Province. This was an utterly truculent move of the Chinese reactionaries to "push war to the Vietnamese border", create a border status quo state, and legalize the illegal annexation of a part of the Vietnamese territory.

Most recently they rejected with arrogance Vietnam's goodwill as shown in a note on December 28, 1981, by the Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam proposing that China "stop all hostile armed actions and cease fire along the Sino-Vietnamese border" on the occasion of the Lunar New Year.

In the sea Chinese armed motor boats made more than 1,700 intrusions into Vietnamese territorial waters in Bach Long Vi Island (Hai Phong) and Tran and Thanh Lam Islands (Quang Ninh). Most serious was that over 100 Chinese motor boats escorted by warships on November 21-22 intruded into the sea areas of Thanh Hoa and Nghe Tinh Provinces. The Chinese reactionaries also conducted exercises for the Nanhai fleet in the areas of Hainan and the Hoang Sa Archipelago.

In the air Chinese aircraft made more than 1,300 sorties close to the Vietnamese border. More serious still, many flights of Chinese jet planes on October 27 and November 28 intruded deep into Phong Tho and Xin Ho Districts (Lai Chau) and Muong Khuong District (Hoang Lien Son).

2 -- These Chinese armed provocations and nibbling activities were made to facilitate the smuggling of scouts, commandos and spies into Vietnam to set up bases for counter-revolutionary subversion and, if possible, for large-scale aggression.

In the three months the Chinese reactionaries smuggled hundreds of scouts, spies and commandos into Vietnam, in Phong Tho (Lai Chau) Lao Cai Muong Khuong (Hoang Lien Son), Meo Vac and Hoang Xu Phi (Ha Tuyen), Ha Quang, Trung Khanh and Quang Hoa (Cao Bang), Cao Loc and Van Lang (Lang Son), Binh Lieu and Mong Cai (Quang Ninh), to gather intelligence, kidnap personnel, conduct sabotage, instigate young people, and make contacts with local reactionaries.

The Chinese reactionaries also forced a number of Vietnamese born Chinese who had moved to China to return to Vietnam to cause trouble in border areas. Through the public address system along the border they tried to distort the line and policies of the Vietnamese party and government, discredit Vietnamese leaders, spread customary lies to confuse people, and upset political, economic and social activities, thereby to pave the way for rebellion and subversion.

The Chinese reactionaries circulated leaflets and psychological warfare and set up frontier markers as a means to get intelligence and contact their agents.

3 -- In the diplomacy, the Chinese reactionaries, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, continued to smear campaign against Vietnam with a view to isolating it in the international arena.

They charged Vietnam with invading Kampuchea and attacking Thailand so as to deprive it of international aid. They also accused Vietnam of using toxic chemicals in Laos and Kampuchea and invented the story that Vietnam and the Soviet Union were threatening the Southeast Asian nations. The aim was to cause hostility between the ASEAN countries and Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries and compel ASEAN to form an "alliance" against Vietnam and to give military aid to the Khmer Rouge and other lackeys.

These crimes laid bare to public opinion at home and abroad the sinister designs of the reactionaries in the Beijing leadership, who, in collusion with the U.S. warmongers, are scheming to weaken Vietnam and preparing for annexation of this country through a large-scale war of aggression.

These criminal acts not only threatened Vietnam's independence, sovereignty and security, but also exacerbated tension in Indochina and Southeast Asia and undermined world peace.

The Vietnam Commission for Investigation of Chinese Expansionists' and Hegemonists' War Crimes denounces to public opinion at home and abroad these crimes of the Chinese authorities and demands that they cease all hostile actions against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

SERIES ON SOVEREIGNTY OVER SPRATLYS, PARACELS

Second Article

OW050941 Hanoi VNA in English 0706 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, January 5 -- The following is the second in a series of articles published by the Hanoi monthly VIETNAM COURIER on the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes:

The Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes Are Vietnamese Territory

The Hoang Sa and Truong Sa (Paracels and Spratlys) have always been part of the Vietnamese territory; numerous juridical and historical documents have irrefutably demonstrated that:

-- Before Vietnam took possession of these archipelagoes they did not fall under the sovereignty of any other state in the world.

-- Ever since, Vietnam has uninterruptedly exercised its sovereignty over these islands.

A Longstanding Vietnamese Occupation

The Beijing authorities have gone all out to demonstrate, citing numerous ancient texts -- 17 in all -- that Chinese travellers on the Bien Dong had landed on the Hcang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes, which they named respectively Xisha and Nansha. This is lost labour because such facts have no juridical value. The essential thing is to prove in an irrefutable manner that China has effectively occupied these archipelagoes before they belonged to any other state and that since then it has exercised, without discontinuity, its sovereignty over these islands. This is something Beijing still has to do.

The Chinese were not the only navigators to sail on this sea in the remote past. There were also Vietnamese, Arabs, Persians, Indians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch and French. Chen Lun, a Chinese author at the time of the Qing, wrote in his travel book, entitled "Things Seen and Heard on the Lands in the Sea": "The junks of the barbarians (as the Chinese then called inhabitants of other countries going to Indonesia, Luzon, Wengai, Sulu ... all pass by the gate of Changsha." This means that inhabitants of many other countries and not China alone, travelled on the Bien Dong Sea.

Referring to the Hoang Sa area, Le Qui Don, a Vietnamese encyclopedist in the 15th century, noted in his *Phu Bien Tap Luc* (Miscellaneous Records on the Government of the Frontiers): "Inhabitants of our country who went there sometimes met with men from the north (Chinese -- ed)."

All the Chinese feudal dynasties who invaded or occupied Vietnam sought to destroy books and other cultural works they found in the country. The greatest infamy was committed by Zhang Fu. This general of the Ming (15th century) ordered books burnt and stelae demolished. Thus, all the ancient texts which might have given us information about Truong Sa and Hoang Sa have either been destroyed or taken to China. One of the rare works written before the later Le Dynasty in Vietnam and preserved until today is the *An Nam Chi Luoc* (Summarized Monograph of An Nam) by Le Tac. However, the first chapter, entitled Geographical Data, has been lost. Moreover, none of the reference books cited by the author in his preface, such as "Giao Chi Do King" ("Capital of Giao Chi") or "Phuong Kim Hoi Nhat Dien Do" escaped the destructive fury of the Ming general or the many big fires that devastated Hanoi during the civil wars. So, we are left with practically no geographical or historical sources to throw light on the Vietnam of that time and the activities of the Vietnamese on the archipelagoes which undoubtedly had become for them a much frequented site by then.

However, Vietnamese writings which appeared after the later Le period (from the 15th century) and certain texts by foreign authors largely suffice to testify in favour of Vietnamese sovereignty.

Let us cite first of all the *Toan Tap Thien Nam Tu Chi Lo Do Thu* (Complete Atlas of the Southern Country) by Do Ba, alias Cong Dao. It contains maps of Vietnam in the 15th century, covering the entire territory from north to south as well as the Eastern Sea. The Hoang Sa Archipelago was referred to in the book as Bai Cat Vang (which means the same as Hoang Sa). It goes without saying that this atlas, like all the other documents we are referring to, is authentic. They are still kept at the Hanoi Social Sciences Library (formerly the library of the French Far Eastern School) and at the Toye Bunke Library in Tokyo. Another source of reference is to be found in a work of great scientific value by H. Dumoutier published in the "Bulletin de Geographie Historique et Descriptive" (1896) and many relevant books.

Beijing contends that this atlas has no value since it contains the following sentence, cited in the white book published in October 1979 by the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry: "To go there it took one day and a half starting from Dai Chiem and half a day starting from the Sa Ky Estuary," which was impossible with the means of navigation at the time. But this is not the question. Errors are common in ancient texts, be they original form without the least modification. We wish only to point out that the 15th century maps of Vietnam which were redrawn in the 17th century already mentioned the Hoang Sa Archipelago (known as Bai Cat Vang) as belonging to the Vietnamese province of Quang Ngai. What is more, in the same book, two pages after the above-mentioned passage, another quotation was made from the *Phu Bien Tap Luc*: "...farther off (i.e. beyond Re Island -- ed) there are also the Dai Truong Sa Islands harbouring many sea products...the Hoang Sa workgang has been formed with the mission of going to collect them. To go there, one must sail for three days and three nights" (underlined by the author). Other ancient books of Vietnam, not yet quoted by our Foreign Ministry, also affirm that it took about three days and three nights to go from Re Island to the Hoang Sa Archipelago.

The members of the Hoang Sa workgang each received six months supplies. They boarded five junks and had to row for three days and three nights to reach the island (Hoang Sa) (*Phu Bien Tap Luc*). They (Hoang Sa workgang) boarded five junks stocked with six months' supplies and put to sea. They had to sail for three days and three nights to reach the island (Hoang Sa) (*Lich Trieu Hien Chuong Loai Chi*, chronicle of dynasties by Phan Buy Chu, early 19th century. Each year, in the 3rd month they (the Hoang Sa workgang) would go to the island (Hoang Sa -- ed) on board junks. They would arrive three days and three nights (*Dai Nam Thuc Luc Tien Bien -- Truthful Accounts About Dai Nam*, 1848).

"The island (Hoang Sa) lies to the east of Ly Island (also called E -- ed) in the district of the Binh Son. From this coastal area of Sa Ky one can go there in favourable weather, in three of four days" (Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi -- monograph of Unified Dai Nam).

According to H. Dumoutier, Do Ba drew up these maps basing himself on the data he had gathered while accompanying King Le Thanh Tong, in his expedition against the Champa in 1470. Thus, as early as the 15th century, Vietnamese had already landed on Hoang Sa. It is known that the feudal state of Vietnam was founded long before that date, following Ngo Quyen's victory over the Chinese invaders on the Bach Dang River in 939. Therefore, the centralised organisation and management of the country's affairs was nothing new. In particular, in the field of maritime navigation and external trade, Vietnamese junks already sailed in the Eastern Sea to reach Luzon, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand.... Also by then Van Don in the Tonkin Gulf was widely known to the world. Other ports were also accessible to vessels of big tonnage.

The Nguyen lords, administrators of the southern half of Vietnam south of the Gianh River (later called Cochinchina), had since the 16th century attached great importance to the protection and exploitation of maritime resources. All the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, and Filipino boats docking at Dai Chiem, Hoi An (Faifo), Da Nang (Tourane) or Re Island were subject to control and had to pay customs duties. Tariffs were mentioned in the Phu Bien Tap Luc of Le Quy Don.

They organised the Thanh Chau workgang, whose task was to gather Salangane nests on the islands off Qui Nhon, and the Hai Mon Gang which operated in the Phu Qui Archipelago. The farther islands such as Hoang Sa, Truong Sa and Phu Quoc were accorded still greater attention. The Hoang Sa workgang was created to exploit the resources on the archipelago of the same name. So was the Bac Hai workgang belonging to the Hoang Sa gang, whose task was to defend and exploit the islands further to the south including the Truong Sa Archipelago, Con Lon (Poulo Condor) Island and Vietnamese islands in the Gulf of Siam. Here are some extracts from ancient books:

"Each year, in the last month of winter, the Nguyen lords sent there (to Hoang Sa -- ed) 18 junks in order to bring back merchandise, gold and silver as well as arms (Toan Tap Thien Nam Tu Chi Lo Do Thu). In the past, the Nguyen formed the Hoang Sa workgang composed of 70 members, all natives of An Vinh commune, who served on a rotating basis. In the first month of the year they went to receive their orders from the higher authorities, then put to sea. Each member of the workgang received six months' supplies. They boarded five small junks and sailed for three days and nights on end to reach the island (Hoang Sa -- ed). There they fished and caught birds to enrich their meals. They also collected arms, silver wares, coins, porcelain, turtle shells, sea cucumbers, and shells in great quantities. Returning to the mainland in the 8th month by the Cua Eo Estuary they reported to Phu Xuan [Hue, capital of the Nguyen Dynasty -- ed] to hand over to the Nguyen lord all that they had gathered. After taking the inventory, they sold for their own account such things as shells, turtles and sea cucumbers. After each receiving a diploma they were allowed to return to their homes. The value of their collection varied, and sometimes they came home empty-handed" (Phu Bien Tap Luc).

The Lich Trieu Hien Chuong Loai Chi by Phan Huy Chu and the Hoang Viet Dia Du Chi (Geography of the Viet Kingdom) compiled in 1833 referred to this workgang of Hoang Sa almost in the same terms.

From 1802 onward, the first kings of the Nguyen attached greater attention to national construction. The Hoang Sa and Bac Hai gangs were maintained and their activities extended. They were spoken of in detail in different historical works such as Dai Nam Thuc Luc Tien Bien (Truthful Accounts About the Dai Nam), Viet Su Cuong Giam Khao Luoc (Glimpse of the History of the Viet) by Nguyen Thong (1876) or again in the Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi (1910).

From these testimonies we may come to the following conclusions:

-- For more than three centuries from the Nguyen lords to the Nguyen kings, Vietnam uninterruptedly exploited the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes, islands in the south like Con Lon (Poulo Condor) and some others in the Gulf of Siam.

-- This exploitation, like the levying of taxes and sea patrols, was organized and led by the state.

The workgangs exploited these islands for five to six months each year without any other country's opposition. How could that be done if Hoang Sa and Truong Sa had not been recognized as Vietnamese territory? With regard to China, the following official letter from the Chinese mandarin head of the district of Wenchang, Qiongzhou (Hainan Island), addressed to the authorities of Thuan Hoa (Vietnam) constitutes a significant testimony:

"In the 18th year of the Qianlong reign (1753) ten soldiers native of An Binh commune taking part in a seafood collecting team of Chuong Nghia District, Province of Quang Ngai, Vietnam, arrived one day in the 7th month at Wanlichangsha to gather sea products. Eight of them landed and the two others stood guard on the junk. A gust of wind having broken the rope, the two were carried by the current as far as Qiaglan Port (China). The local authorities, after checking on the facts, had the two men taken back to their homeland. The Vietnamese Lord Nguyen Phuc Chu ordered the earl of Thuc Luong, mandarin head of Thuan Hoa Province, to send a message of thanks to the mandarin head of district of Wenchang". (after Le Quy Don in Phu Bien Tap Luc)

This anecdote clearly shows that the Chinese authorities in Hainan were not opposed in any way to the exploitation by the Hoang Sa workgang of the Nguyen lords on the Hoang Sa Archipelago, which they called Wanlichangsha. Thus, before the Vietnamese state established its authority on the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes, these islands had not come under the sovereignty of any other country. Subsequently, this Vietnamese sovereignty was exercised through the organization and exploitation of those archipelagoes without opposition from any other country.

Uninterrupted Sovereignty

After his accession to the throne, Emperor Gia Long decided to build Vietnam into a powerful country. He gave special attention to agriculture, strengthened the dykes, carried out reforms in the fiscal system, in the literacy contests to choose mandarins, in the judiciary field, and built ramparts and citadels.

Meanwhile, during the first three decades of the 19th century the capitalist countries -- Great Britain, France, Holland, the United States -- vied with one another to subjugate Asian countries from India, Indonesia, Malaysia to the countries in eastern Asia and Oceania. Therefore, Gia Long had to increase sea patrols and seek every possible means to strengthen Vietnam's sovereignty over the islands which already belonged to it.

In his "Memoirs of Cochinchina", which were published in the French BULLETIN DES AMIS VIEUX HUE (1923, Vol 2, p. 257), Jean Baptiste Chaigneau wrote: "Cochinchina, of which the sovereign has now assumed the title of emperor, comprises Cochinchina proper, Tonkin, some inhabited islands not far from the coast and the Paracel Archipelago composed of islands, reefs and uninhabited rocks. Not until 1816 did the emperor take possession of this archipelago."

Again in 1937 Jean Louis Taberd, apostolic vicar of Cochinchina, wrote:

"Although this kind of archipelago presents nothing but rocks and great depths which promises more inconveniences than advantages, the King Gia Long thought he had increased his dominions by this sorry addition. In 1816 he went with solemnity to plant his flag and take formal possession of these rocks, which it is not likely anybody will dispute with him" (note on the geography of Cochinchina by the Right Rev Jean Louis, bishop of Isauropholis, vic, apost [as received] of Cochinchina).

In his book "The Universe, the History and Description of All the Peoples, Their Religious, Habits and Customs" published in 1850, Dubois de Jancigny noted that during the last 34 years the Paracel Archipelago called by the Annamites "Cat Vang" or Hoang Sa "Yellow Sand," a real labyrinth of small islets, rocks and sand banks rightly dreaded by navigators, has been under Cochinchinese occupation.

"It is not known whether they have founded there an administration but Emperor Gia Long made it a point to add this laurel to his crown because he actually went there to personally take it into possession, and in 1816 he personally planted the Cochinchinese flag there."

While the Hoang Sa and Bac Hai workgangs continued their work the Nguyen kings took a series of measures to demonstrate and exercise Vietnamese sovereignty on the archipelagoes. In the 14th year of the Minh Mang reign (1833) a royal order to the Ministry of Public works said: "Seen from a distance, the Hoang Sa Archipelago, which lies in the waters of Quang Ngai, seems to be lost between sky and sea. Nobody knows how deep the water there is. Of late commercial junks sailing in the neighbourhood have been frequently attacked. So, prepare boats. Next year you will send your men there to build a temple and erect a stele and plant trees" (Dai Nam Thuc Luc Chinh Bien -- Truthful Accounts About Dai Nam -- Vol 2).

Other works such as Kham Dinh Dai Nam Hoi Dien Su Le (Codes and Rules of Dai Nam), and the Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi (monograph of Unified Dai Nam) or the Quoc Trieu Chinh Bien Toat Yeu (Summary of the Annals of the Nguyen Dynasty) also report that the Nguyen kings had a stele set up there to symbolize Vietnamese sovereignty. Others give the following details on the temple and the stele:

"...In the 16th year of the Minh Mang reign (1835) a request was addressed to the king for the building, on the southwestern part of Bach Sa Island, of the Hoang Sa temple (made of stone according to a rule in force). A stone stele was erected on the left to the temple (1 thuoc 5 tac tall, 1 thuoc 2 tac wide). In front of the temple a stone wall was erected, and on either side and behind the temple trees of different kinds were planted."

Besides, the Nguyen kings ordered the drawing up of maps, surveys of the topography of these places and measurement of the different routes leading there.

"In the first month of the year at Hoa (1815) the king ordered Pham Quang Anh of the Hoang Sa workgang to study and measure the sea routes to the island" (Dai Nam Thuc Luc Chinh Bein, Vol 1).

In 1836 King Minh Mang gave still more detailed orders on this question in reply to the following request of the ministry of public works: "The Hoang Sa Archipelago, which lies in our territorial waters, is very rugged. The previous dynasties have ordered a map of it to be drawn up but due to its wide area and its remoteness, the work has been only partially completed. What is more, we did not know how to tackle it. Each year men were sent there to survey the place and measure the routes of navigation. From this year onward, toward the end of the first month, we shall send sailors chosen from among the Bien Binh and Giam Thanh who will sail to Quang Ngai and arrive there early in the second months on board a junk. There they will ask the authorities of the Quang Ngai and Binh Dinh Provinces to hire four junks from the local population who will guide them to the Hoang Sa.

On the island or beach where they land, they will have to measure the length, width, height, area perimeter and sound the surrounding sea to find out its depth, mark the sand banks, the reefs, the submarine topography and record all of them on the map. Besides, they will have to record the date and port of departure, the direction taken, the itinerary and evaluate the distance. They will also have to locate the place of disembarkation in relation to the coast, and determine by eye in what province and district it is situated and at how many nautical miles from the coast. All that must be reported in detail to the court.

"The king agreed and ordered Pham Huu Nhat to lead a naval unit with the mission of carrying ten wooden panels to be planted as landmarks, each panel is 5 thuoc long, 0.5 thuoc large and 0.1 thuoc thick and carries this inscription: in the year 17 of the Minh Mang reign, i.e, the year Binh Than (1836), by the king's order, Pham Huu Nhat, officer commanding a naval unit, came to inspect the Hoang Sa Archipelago and planted this landmark as a testimony." (Dai Nam Thuc Luc Chinh Bien, Vol 2)

The above event is also recorded in the Quoc Trieu Chinh Bien Toat Yeu (Summary of the Annals of the Nguyen Dynasty) compiled by the National History Institute.

The nguyen kings also instituted taxes to be levied on foreign ships. In a study on Vietnam under the nguyen kings when referring to Hoang Sa, Gutzlaff wrote: "The Annam government, perceiving the advantages which it might derive if a toll were raised, keeps revenue cutters and a small garrison on the spot to collect the duty on all visitors and to ensure protection to its own fishermen." (Geography of the Cochinchinese Empire in Journal of the Geographical Society of London, 1849, Vol 19, p.93)

While exercising Vietnamese sovereignty on these archipelagoes, the nguyen kings, however, did not overlook certain obligations in the framework of international law at the time. The Hoang Sa and Truong Sa, owing to their geographic position, their formation and topography, constitute a danger for the ships sailing nearby which risk running aground or being wrecked against some coral reef. Therefore, in 1833 after instructing the Ministry of Public Works to erect a temple and a stele there, King Minh Mang insisted that "it is necessary to plant trees there which when fully grown would constitute points of reference for the navigators and help them to avoid the risk of running aground." (Dai Nam Thuc Luc Chinh Bien, Vol 2).

Is this not proof of the sense of responsibility of a state conscious of its obligations toward vessels sailing in its territorial waters?

Since then all Vietnamese soldiers going to these archipelagoes would take along in their travelling bags seeds which they would sow around the temple in hopes that they would grow into trees that would constitute markers easily recognizable by navigators. (Viet Su Cuong Giam Khao Luoc -- Glimpse of the History of the Viet Country by Nguyen Thong) It is worth remembering that the Hoang Sa Islands, which are formed from sun-baked and wind-swept coral reefs and subject to rain storms for many months of the year, are not a hospitable land for the growth of trees.

In a review on the Hoang Sa Archipelago published in 1974, Son Hong Duc, professor of geography at Saigon University, noted that on some islands (Huu Nhat or Robert Island) in the archipelago one can still find large rotten stumps of trees. As for the trees that are still growing there, they belong to the same families as those on the Vietnamese littoral. Many islands are covered with a lush vegetation well deserving the names given them by the navigators Phu Lam (Woody Island), Dao Cay (Tree Island). Some of these trees were certainly planted by men, others came from seeds carried there by the currents or birds.

Among the documents produced by the Chinese Foreign Ministry, apart from some maps drawn up under the Qing (which it only mentioned but did not produce) there are only semi-official texts and a few regional monographs. On the contrary, Vietnam produced official documents written by state organs or by their order.

-- Dai Nam Thuc Luc Tien Bien and Dai Thuc Luc Chinh Bien, which are annals of the Nguyen Dynasty compiled by the National History Institute from the 2nd year of the reign of Minh Mang (1821).

-- Dai Nam Nhat Thong Chi, a geography of Vietnam compiled from 1865 to 1882 by order of King Tu Duc but not published. It was corrected under the reign of Thanh Thai by the National History Institute. By 1910 only the first part dealing with the 17 central provinces had been completed.

-- Quoc Trieu Chinh Bien Toat Yeu, a summary of the annals of the Nguyen Dynasty compiled by the National History Institute from 1909.

-- Kham Dinh Dai Nam Hoi Dien Su Le, (codes and rules of Dai Nam) written by order of the king in 1843 (under the reign of Thieu Tri) and in 1851 (under the reign of Tuc Duc) recording all the works accomplished by the six ministries. It was followed by a second volume, entitled Kham Dinh Dai Nam Hoi Dien Su Le Tuc Bien.

Some other works were written by high dignitaries of the court, such as Phu Bien Tap Luc by Le Qui Don, Lich Trieu Hien Chuong Loai Chi (of which one volume, Du Dia Chi, is devoted to geography) by Phan Huy Chu, Viet Su Cuong Giam Khao Luco by Nguyen Thong, etc.

All those documents, spanning over more than a century, prove that prior to French colonisation, Vietnam was already the first state to discover and occupy the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes and had exercised its sovereignty for more than three centuries without interruption on behalf of Vietnam.

Toward the middle of the 19th century (1868-1884) the history of Vietnam reached a turning point as a result of the domination by French [word indistinct] under two slightly different forms: colonisation of the Nam Ky (Cochinchina) and protectorate of the Trung Ky (Annam) and the Bac Ky (Tonkin). From then, France did, to all intents and purposes, represent Vietnam in international relations to defend Vietnamese archipelagoes as well as the whole of the territory of the country.

Once installed in Vietnam, France could not but take into account the traditional relations between this country and its neighbours, Laos and Cambodia, and the fact that they formed, together with Vietnam, the same entity: French Indochina. Up till then the Nguyen kings had always maintained good relations with the Qing while zealously defending the national independence according to the flexible strategy which consisted in continuing to recognize China's nominal suzerainty. France signed with the Qing a series of conventions, some concerning Sino-French relations, others concerning questions relating to China and Vietnam. It is worth mentioning the convention of 1884, which put an end to the so-called suzerainty of China over Vietnam and the conventions of 1887 and 1895 on the delimitation of the Sino-Vietnamese frontier.

In the first days of their rule, while patriotic movements against the invaders broke out from north to south, in which even some Nguyen kings took part (such as Ham Nghi, Thanh Thai and Duy Tan), the French sought, first of all, to quickly stabilize the situation, consolidate their administration and appease the population as a prerequisite for their economic exploitation of the country. At that time, Vietnam's neighbors were themselves subject to imperialist invasions. China, in particular, where the Qing court was rotten to the core, became the target of Japanese and Western ambitions. The Sino-British accords (Nanking -- 1842); Sino-American (Wanxia -- 1844); Sino-French (Huangpu -- 1844); Sino-British (Yantai -- 1876); and Sino-Japanese (Shimonoseki -- 1895) opened wide the door of China to foreign penetration.

In the meantime, from inside China was shaken by widespread mass uprisings in Yunnan and in the north-west.... Under such circumstances, the colonial authorities in Indochina did not see the need to take urgent measures concerning the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes. All that they did was to send gunboats to patrol the area. In 1899, the governor general of Indochina, Paul Doumer, proposed setting up a lighthouse on the Hoang Sa Island (Pattle Island) to stress Vietnamese sovereignty on the archipelago and also to help navigation in its neighbourhood. However, this project was not realised until 1938.

After World War I (1914-1918), France increased its investments in Indochina considerably, first of all in Vietnam, in order both to exploit raw materials and turn it into an outlet for the goods of the metropolis. In the framework of this policy, greater attention was accorded to the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes in view of their riches and strategic position.

From 1920, boats of the Indochinese customs office increased their patrols in the area of Hoang Sa to intercept contraband ships, the Chinese authorities in Guangdong Province having revealed their dark intentions toward the archipelago. Than Trong Hue, the then war minister of the Hue court, published the declaration of March 3, 1925 affirming the unquestionable sovereignty of Vietnam over this archipelago.

At about the same time, a French delegation led by A. Krempf sailed on board the De Lanessan to Hoang Sa to inquire into the situation. In 1927, the same team went to the Truong Sa.

In the early 30's, in the face of the Chinese covetous designs on the immense guano reserves of the Hoang Sa Archipelago, there erupted within the colonial authorities in Indochina heated debates on how to defend Vietnamese sovereignty over this archipelago. Some, including the governor general, Pierre Rasquier, argued that conditions had not been ripe for a direct discussion over the matter with the Chinese. Numerous reasons were given, but the most important one which has never been explicitly acknowledged is that the political situation in Indochina had in fact reached an important turning point with the birth of the Indochinese Communist Party and the outbreak of the "Nghe Tinh Soviet uprising."

Most of the French in Indochina did not approve of this reticence and openly made their point of view known. These included, among others, the MMP.s. De Monzie and Bergeon, the engineer Paul Maurice Clerget, the industrialist Lapique, the army commander Sauvarie-Jourdan, the journalists Gustave Sale, Alexis Elie Lacombe, Olivier A. Saix, and especially Henri Cucherousset, editor-in-chief of the EVEIL ECONOMIQUE DE L'INDOCHINE. The second tendency eventually got the upper hand, as shown by the intensified activity of the colonial authorities in these archipelagoes.

On the Hoang Sa:

-- In 1928 the Tonkin new society of phosphates began to exploit guano there;

-- In 1937 Guatmier, a civil engineer, went in person to the archipelago to find a convenient place for the construction of a lighthouse on the island and another one on the sea to facilitate the coming and going of hydroplanes. He also studied conditions for an eventual population of the archipelago;

-- In 1938 the colonial authorities erected a stele to formalize Vietnamese sovereignty over the archipelago and set up a lighthouse, a meteorological station bearing the international index 48860 and a radio station;

-- On March 30, 1938 the Vietnamese King Bao Dai signed the Ordinance No 10 placing the archipelago under the jurisdiction of the provincial authorities of Thua Thien (central Vietnam);

-- June 15, 1938 the governor general of Indochina signed Decree No 156/SC making the Hoang Sa Archipelago an administrative unit belonging to Thua Thien Province;

-- On May 5, 1939 the governor general of Indochina signed decree No 3283 modifying that of June 15, 1938 and dividing the archipelago into two administrative units: the crescent delegation and the amphitrite delegation and dependencies, whose administrative seats were respectively Hoang Sa Island (Pattle) and the Woody Island (Phu Lam).

On the Truong Sa:

-- On December 22, 1929 the governor general of Indochina instructed the governor of Cochinchina by telegram to send the French Navy ship La Malicieuse to Truong Sa to occupy this archipelago. In 1933 other ships -- Alerte, Astrolable, De Lanessan -- went there one after another to plant the French flag on other islands of Truong Sa. A communique published in the official journal of the French Republic dated July 26, 1933 said that the occupation of the islands in the archipelago had taken place in the following order: the island of Truong Sa (Spratly) on April 13, 1930; An Bang (Amboyna Cay) on April 7, 1933; Ba Binh (Itu Aba) on April 11, 1933; and Thi Tu island on April 12, 1933. Not only the big islands, but also all the small surrounding islands, were occupied.

On December 21, 1933, the governor of Cochinchina, J. Krautheimer, signed a decree integrating the aforementioned islands of Truong Sa (Spratly) An Bang (Amboyna Cay) Ba Binh (Itu Aba), Song Tu, Loaita, Thi Tu and the small surrounding islands into the province of Ba Ria.

After launching the Pacific war, Japan, ignoring the French authorities' protest, seized Hoang Sa Islands in 1938 beginning with Phu Lam (Woody Island), the occupied Truong Sa in 1939. Following its defeat before the allies, Japan committed itself at the San Francisco Conference in 1951 to "renounce all its rights, titles and claims on the Spratly Lands and the Paracels Islands" (Articles 2 of the San Francisco accords). It was at this conference that the prime minister of the Dao Dai government, Tran Van Huu, made a declaration affirming Vietnam's sovereignty on these archipelagoes without any country present raising any protest whatsoever.

In the meantime, in May 1916, the French had sent the cruiser Savorgnan de Brazza to re-occupy the Hoang Sa Archipelago. On January 13, 1947 they sent a note of protest to the Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) government, which had illegally occupied many islands in the archipelago. This note reaffirmed once again Vietnamese sovereignty over the whole of the archipelago. At the same time, the French sent to Hoang Sa (Pattle) Island the cruiser Le Tonkinois, which landed a platoon to be stationed there. Immediately afterward, the French began the reconstruction of the meteorological station on the island. In 1950 Jiang Jieshi troops withdrew from the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Islands. The French returned the Hoang Sa to the Bao Dai government represented by the governor of Trung Phan (Central Vietnam).

The fifties were marked by two series of important events:

-- The occupation by Beijing troops of the Phu Lam (Woody Island), then other islands of the eastern group of Hoang Sa Archipelago, the occupation by Taiwanese troops of Ba Binh Island (Itu Aba) in the Truong Sa Archipelago. These were blatant acts of aggression because Chinese troops -- whether from Beijing or Taiwan -- attacked a sovereign territory.

-- In 1956, as France moved out of Indochina, its troops left Hoang Sa. The Saigon government immediately replaced the French and planted landmarks on the islands of Truong Sa (Spratly), Thi Lu, Loaita, An Bang (Amboyna Cay) and the Song Tu group of island.

In 1956 the Saigon administration integrated the Truong Sa Archipelago into the province of Phuoc Tuy and established on the Hoang Sa Archipelago the Dinh Hai commune belonging to the district of Hoa Vang Quang Nam Province. Between 1950 and 1975, the Saigon administration and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam many times protested against the infringement on the Vietnamese sovereignty over these two archipelagoes by other countries.

-- In protest against the Philippines, which claimed ownership of several islands on the Truong Sa Archipelago, and against Malaysia, which claimed that the islands and the sand banks on the Truong Sa Archipelago belonged to them, the Saigon administration many times proclaimed Vietnam's sovereignty over this archipelago.

-- At the Caracas conference on the sea the Saigon administration proclaimed Vietnam's sovereignty on the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes.

-- In February 1959, the Saigon administration arrested a group of fishermen of the People's Republic of China who had intruded into the islands of Huu Nhat (Robert), Duy Mong (Drumond) and Quang Hoa (Duncan) in the Hoang Sa Archipelago.

-- On January 20, 1974, when Chinese troops invaded the Hoang Sa Archipelago, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam made public its views on the issue.

-- On January 20, 1974, a message of the Foreign Ministry of the Saigon government to the president of the U.S. Security Council urged that a meeting be convened urgently to discuss the acts of aggression of the People's Republic of China against the Hoang Sa Archipelago.

-- On May 6, 1975, a communique of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam announced that the liberation armed forces of South Vietnam had liberated six islands on the Truong Sa Archipelago (others were liberated later).

-- On September 18, 1975, a meteorological team of the Republic of South Vietnam published a statement asking the world meteorological organization to continue recognizing the meteorological station No 48860 of Vietnam. The statement also reaffirmed Vietnam's sovereignty over the Hoang Sa Archipelago.

-- On June 5, 1976 the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of South Vietnam affirmed Vietnam's sovereignty over the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes.

Since 1976, through diplomatic notes and declarations, as well as during the bilateral talks and international conferences, Vietnam has unceasingly protested against the continued occupation of the Hoang Sa Archipelago by Chinese troops and affirmed its sovereignty over this archipelago, as well as the Truong Sa Archipelago.

The Only Valid Conclusion

On the question of the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes, many other historical documents may be adduced and other juridical aspects of the problem may be examined. However, a scrutiny of the documents and facts produced so far by the Vietnamese and Chinese sides already allow us to arrive at a conclusion. Two essential factors are to be taken into account: the real occupation and effective exercise of sovereignty on the territory under dispute.

In international law, the occupation of a territory is valid only when this territory has not yet been under the sovereignty of another country and when the occupying state has been exercising its sovereignty on this territory effectively and uninterruptedly.

In its white book published on January 30, 1980 the Chinese Foreign Ministry produced a number of proofs intending to demonstrate that the Chinese people have long "discovered" the Xisha and Nansha Archipelagoes. Whatever amount of truth there may be in these affirmations, this "discovery" will not give the Chinese authorities any priority over other peoples who themselves had discovered the said archipelagoes a long time ago. With regard to the exploitation of these archipelagoes, the Chinese side used rather vague terms such as "exploit" and "look after productive activities." Then, after claiming that China has found there many objects in ceramics, porcelain, knives, iron pots and other household utensils, they concluded: "Chinese began to settle on and conduct productive [as received] such as fishing, on the Xisha and Nansha Archipelagoes in the epoch of the Tang or Song at the latest." Even if all that was true, these could be seen only as private undertakings. And if all these productive activities consisted only of fishing, this has nothing special, because fishermen of different nationalities had long operated in this particularly abundant zone. On the contrary, the Chinese white book could not produce any answer, however elusive, to the question as to whether or not the Chinese state generally occupied -- and since when -- the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes and whether it has ever exercised in an effective and uninterrupted way its sovereignty there. What is more, nowhere has it affirmed that China has actually appropriated these islands. As for the facts happening after the Qing period (from the 18th century) invoked to demonstrate that China has "administered" these archipelagoes, they dated back to the time when these archipelagoes had already become a sovereign territory because they already belonged to Vietnam. The least that can be said of these acts is that they were illegal because they infringed upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

Meanwhile, things are very clear from the Vietnamese side:

-- The Vietnamese people have long since discovered the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes, which have become a traditional sector of activity for Vietnamese fishermen. These archipelagoes are nearer to Vietnam than to China and, moreover, linked to our country by long-standing historic ties.

-- From the times of the Nguyen lords (18th century) at the latest, the Vietnamese state already began occupying these islands when they had not previously belonged to any other country and exploiting them without interruption, founding Hoang Sa and Bac Hai workgangs, which stayed there from five to six months a year to carry out fishing, recuperate things jetisoned by shipwrecks, and collect taxes, customs duties and undertake patrols organised by the state.

-- Since Gia Long, the Nguyen kings have taken measures to strengthen the sovereignty of the Vietnamese state such as erecting steles symbolizing Vietnam's sovereignty, and temples, digging wells on Hoang Sa Island (Pattle), sending naval units to draw up maps, measuring the sea routes, collecting taxes from foreign ships, planting trees to make the islands a point of reference for navigators, etc.

-- During the colonial period, France exercised its sovereignty over Hoang Sa and Truong Sa in the name of Vietnam, sending administrative teams there, building a lighthouse, a meteorological station, and exploiting local resources, especially guano.

-- After recovering independence, the Vietnamese Government have, when necessary, proclaimed their sovereignty over the archipelagoes, strongly protested against all infringements on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam, organised these two archipelagoes in the administrative, economic and military fields.

After studying all the arguments produced by the concerned parties, Professor Charles Rousseau, a well-known specialist in international law, has concluded: "In fact, the long historic ties and the geographic nearness have been the two major claims that Vietnam may invoke, which it did. The argument based on contiguity to the mainland is all powerful here. It is true that it might also be used by China at least with regard to the Paracels, but such a claim is valid only on condition that it is supported by a material effectiveness which Vietnam alone is capable of exercising or is better disposed than others to exercise".

Therefore, the only conclusion conforming to history and meeting the criteria of international law is the following:

The Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes belong to Vietnam and come under Vietnamese sovereignty. They constitute an integral part of the Vietnamese territory.

Though they claimed that "we will never seize any land belonging to another country", governments in Beijing have in fact invaded Hoang Sa Archipelago, which they continue to occupy. At the same time, Taipei invaded and occupied Ba Binh Island (Itu Aba) in the Truong Sa Archipelago. These are acts of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people's struggle against the occupation of the Hoang Sa Archipelago by the reactionaries within the Beijing authorities, who also claim ownership of the Truong Sa Archipelago, is part of the struggle against the latter's expansionism and hegemonism. By seeking to control and if possible to occupy the Bien Dong Sea and Southeast Asia, they have revealed their expansion-trying [as received] now to realize by every possible means these dreams long nurtured by the ancient Chinese emperors. The sending of 600,000-men invasion army equipped with considerable means of war against Vietnam, the installation of a so-called "Democratic Kampuchea" of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the unilateral delimitation of four danger zones on the approaches to Hoang Sa and Hainan in violation of international law concerning air traffic, the building of Hoang Sa into a military base in the Eastern Sea, the multiple acts of interference in the internal affairs of the countries in the area -- are not all these acts tangible proofs of their expansionist policy?

The struggle of the Vietnamese people may be long and arduous but will certainly be victorious because it is a just struggle supported by all the fraternal and friendly countries throughout the world at a time that the three revolutionary currents of our era are rising ever higher to attack the last refuges of imperialism.

Some may think that the struggle to recover and defend the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes is the affair of the Vietnamese alone. In fact, this struggle has a much wider implication. A look at the map suffices. What would become of the face of Southeast Asia if the Beijing expansionists succeed in seizing all these archipelagoes and controlling the Bien Dong Sea? Then how can it be said that this question concerns the Vietnamese alone and they alone have to bear the consequences?

May this denunciation of the acts of aggression and the ambitions of Beijing serve as an alarm signal for all the peoples in Southeast Asia. Doubtless, there are many areas where disagreement still remains among the latter. However, faced with the danger posed by Beijing expansionism, there is no other option but to unite to resist and to preserve their independence, freedom, peace, stability and prosperity. The days when imperialism and colonialism could dictate their will to the peoples in the region are long gone. Whatever its schemes -- armed aggression, economic, political and diplomatic manoeuvres, sabotage by Maoist groups -- Beijing cannot achieve its sinister ambition.

Third Article

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[Text] Hanoi, VNA, January 6 -- The following is the third article in a series of six concerning the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes published by the Hanoi monthly VIETNAM COURIER:

From Map War to Hot War

Early 1974 two years had passed since the signing by Zhou Enlai and Richard Nixon of the notorious Shanghai communique. One year later, Saigon was liberated. Under the terms of the 1973 Paris agreement then in force, Washington was committed to withdrawing its troops from Indochina. The resistance war waged since 1960 by the Vietnamese people against American aggression was entering its final phase. It had been a long and difficult revolutionary war, to which the Beijing authorities had pledged their full support in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. Indeed, had they not declared that they were Vietnam's staunchest rear base?

Yet Beijing chose this precise moment to attack the Hoang Sa Archipelago, a cluster of Vietnamese islands some 170 nautical miles from the port of Danang, and at that time garrisoned by the Saigon army. To begin with, the Chinese Navy sent a number of ships camouflaged as fishing boats into Hoang Sa waters, escorting a number of landing craft. At the same time several Chinese warships were deployed in the vicinity of the archipelago. The offensive was launched on January 19, and fighting raged the whole of the following day, with strong air support. The Saigonese defenders called for help, but in vain: A unit of the Seventh Fleet operating in the area ostensibly moved away. The attackers made 48 prisoners, including an American adviser, Gerald Kosch, who was treated with great courtesy and was soon handed over to the American authorities.

Following the liberation of Saigon, a highly significant document concerning the role of the United States in this affair was discovered in the archives of the Saigon Foreign Ministry. This was the telegram sent from Washington by Ambassador Tran Kim Phuong to Foreign Minister Vuong Van Bac on February 2, 1974, exactly two weeks after the event. In particular it stated that "Secretary of State Henry Kissinger looks upon the conflict on the subject of the Hoang Sa (Paracels) Islands as a marginal problem, even an inconvenience, within the framework of the joint efforts with Communist China to contain North Vietnam. (...) a spirit of compromise with Communist China prevails at present in both assemblies. They are ready to give us military assistance against North Vietnam but not Communist China".

Evidently, China had conquered a bridgehead into Vietnam with Washington's blessing. Both superpowers were determined to cement their new alliance at the expense of their respective allies. With ten years' hindsight, it can be said that the United States, before being forced out of that part of the world, covertly passed its powers as international gendarme to its potential successor, Beijing hegemonism.

Lying in Wait: The Underside of an Expansionist Strategy

The highly strategic position of the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes is due to the fact that they command not only the access routes to Vietnam but also all the major sea and air routes across the Bien Dong (Eastern Sea). The discovery of off-shore oilfields and large underwater mineral deposits off the coast of Vietnam has further underlined their importance.

Early in the 20th century, Imperial China, then a semi-colony of the Western powers, had already laid claim to these islands. Twenty-five years after the signing with France of the Tianqin (Tien Tsin) Treaty in 1884, under which China renounced its nominal suzerain rights over Vietnam, the Qing court nevertheless mounted a lightning expedition upon Hoang Sa. This expedition was praised in the following terms by Shi Dizu in an article printed by GUANGMING RIBAO on November 24th, 1975, and on the following day by the PEOPLE'S DAILY.

"In April 1909 Admiral Li Zhun, assisted by Vice-Admirals Wu Jingyong and Liu Yike, led 170 men on gunboats Fubo and Chenhang in an expedition to Xisha (Hoang Sa), he landed on 15 islands, gave the archipelago the name of Loshi, planted the (Chinese) flag on Yongxing Island and fired a cannon salute, proclaiming to all both within and without the country that the islands of the Southern Sea are a part of China's sacred territory".

In this article, entitled "From Antiquity the Islands of the Southern Sea Have Been Part and Parcel of the Territory of Our Country", Shi Dizu claims nevertheless that China has exercised its sovereignty over Hoang Sa at least since the times of the Tang and the Song, over ten centuries ago. This would mean that Li Zhun's assertion of Chinese rights over the archipelago was superfluous. But it is not our wish to disentangle the contradictions, the unsupported affirmations, and the tendentious conclusions which abound in the typically Maoist works of Beijing's propagandists. Rather, let us try to find out how the contemporary press covered the incident.

Firstly, not one but two incursions were mentioned in its columns, both conducted by the Imperial Chinese Navy into Hoang Sa waters in April and June 1909. Shi Dizu no doubt refers to the June rather than the April expedition. According to the GUANGZHOU KOUO CHE PAO of June 20, 1909, later quoted by the French JOURNAL EXTREME-ASIE (Number 38, August 1909), two small gunboats under the command of Li Zhun had left this town for Yulin, a port in the south of Hainan, with two agents from a German firm on board and 10 Chinese crewmen. [as received] The expedition had to put in for two weeks at Yulin to wait for suitable weather before finally reaching Hoang Sa on June 6. After stopping off on a few islands, the Chinese flag was flown on one of them saluted by 21 salvoes. The expedition left on the following day, June 7. The Chinese side did not follow this up by any military or political action.

The event, far from taking on the grandiose and solemn proportions attributed to it by the GUANGMING RIBAO and the PEOPLE'S DAILY, was nonetheless a blatant violation of the territorial integrity of Vietnam, then administered as a French protectorate. The French colonial administration later explained its non-reaction to this provocation as being most opportune at the time, the treaty of Beijing of 1898 having kept to the status quo concerning the islands in the South China Sea.

Without going into the controversy which followed in the Indochinese press, let us simply note the aggressive policy of expansion followed by the Qing court right up to its demise in 1911, a policy later Chinese governments were to perpetuate. Under the Kuomintang, China, then also in bondage, dismembered and humiliated, did not for all that shed its territorial claims over Vietnam. In December 1946, taking advantage of the fighting between Vietnam and France, Chinese troops partially occupied Hoang Sa and Truong Sa, neither side being in a position to intervene, but it was under Mao Zedong that China revealed its most cynical hand in playing for its expansionist aims.

Maoist China, much more powerful and cunning than earlier regimes, at first tried a double game. This was to create for itself, through excessive declarations and spectacular gestures, and ultrarevolutionary aura, as an intransigent anti-imperialist and defender of world peace, while developing its strength and lying in wait for the most favorable moment to act. 'Lying in wait' (changou maifu in Chinese) was always one of the Maoists' main strategies of subversion and aggression, along with their equally typical opportunism and hypocrisy in standing on "the mountain watching the tigers fight" (zuo shan guan hu dou), both were used against Vietnam.

In 1954 Beijing published, as an annex to its "Historical Sketch of Contemporary China", a map of China including territories "annexed by the imperialists": Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, parts of India, the People's Republic of Mongolia, Korea, Japan's Ryukyu Archipelago, parts of Oriental Siberia and of the Soviet Republics of Kazakhstan, and Tadzhikistan and the Kirghiz Soviet Republic. At the time nobody imagined this was the beginning of a "map war" later to be used to justify territorial claims.

It did strike some as being rather strange, but rather than seeing it as a conscious move by the Chinese authorities, it was explained away in terms of the Chinese habit of overstatement, and even justified as a stand against the imperialists. Who indeed would have suspected the world's second socialist power of expansionist ambitions, initiator, together with India, of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and one of the leading delegations to the Bandung Conference? But the world soon realized the duplicity of Maoist China when, claiming unilaterally declared sovereignty rights, it launched its troops against Burma in 1955, India in 1962 and the U.S.S.R. in 1969, before attempting to "teach Vietnam a lesson" ten years later in 1979.

The annexation of the Hoang Sa Archipelago was also preceded by a map war. The maritime borders drawn on the maps of the 1973 atlas of the People's Republic of China extend in Southeast Asia as far as the Malacca Straits and North Kalimantan. This was predictable given the 1958 declaration made public in Beijing on September 4 of that year which established the territorial waters of China as extending 12 nautical miles off-shore. In particular it was stated that "this stipulation applies to all territories of the People's Republic of China, including... the Dongsha". The insincerity of the Chinese position is now apparent in the international vagueness of this statement.

At that time, Washington had just scuppered the 1945 Geneva agreements which contained provisions for general elections to be held throughout Vietnam in 1956 with a view to reunifying the country. And the infamous dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, while conducting a one-sided war of repression against the southern population, was preparing to march on the North. Beijing could not have found a better occasion; after having forcibly occupied the eastern group of the Hoang Sa Islands in 1955, it now began to put pressure on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, only just recovered from the anti-French resistance, and which had at all costs to avoid making enemies on several fronts. This explains the terse note sent on September 14, 1958, by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong to his counterpart Zhou Enlai, in which he confirmed that Vietnam respected China's territorial waters, without, however, making the slightest allusion to the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes and intentionally ignoring the Chinese names of Xisha and Nansha used in China's declaration.

But in 1959 Beijing pushed matters further, organising a landing on Hoang Sa, on the islands of the crescent group, by 82 Chinese fishermen, all of whom were captured by the Saigon troops stationed there. The Chinese response was to issue strongly-worded warnings to the Saigon administration, "puppets of the American paper tiger", but not making any further moves. The Saigon puppet regime had been consolidated, and China could no longer expect easy victories in conquering new territories as it had done in 1956.

The beast had to lie in wait for another fifteen years before springing on its prey, sure this time of American complicity. Saigon, in effect, had its hands tied. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for their part, had to swallow the bitter pill: The final stage of the anti-American struggle was approaching, and the liberation of southern Vietnam had to take precedence over all other considerations.

Noisy, But Hardly Convincing

A boa, after swallowing its prey, hides away to digest it. Maoist China is not like a boa: After having grabbed the Hoang Sa Archipelago and haunted by its conscience, the Chinese leadership launched a noisy propaganda campaign claiming that the islands had always belonged to China. They harshly stated that over a thousand years ago, they had been populated by Chinese, apparently not aware of the fact that these islands are coral reefs and thus grow at a given rate, in given conditions. A thousand years ago the greater part of these islands were submerged reefs, only the largest of them standing out of the water. It is indeed plausible that the area could have been visited by Chinese fishermen as early as the Tang period, or by ancient explorers in the period of the Three Kingdoms, but to claim that they established themselves there is patently ridiculous: The only life these reefs could have supported was marine fauna.

Let us review this campaign which the Chinese mass media have waged since 1974 in an attempt to justify the annexation.

Immediately after the official announcement of the attack on Hoang Sa in the PEOPLE'S DAILY on January 20, 1974, the entire Chinese press took up the issue. The event was described as a "counterattack of a defensive character", the expression used five years later to explain the aggression against Vietnam along the entire length of its northern border. The PEOPLE'S DAILY of July 29, 1977, actually went so far as to list the attack on Hoang Sa as one of the most glorious feats of the Chinese People's Army, along with the intervention in Tibet, the Chinese volunteers part in the Korean War, the shelling of Quemoy Island in the Taiwan Straits, the counterattacks of a "defensive character" on the Sino-Indian and Sino-Soviet borders.

Chinese propaganda, while not ignoring the Truong Sa (Nansha) Islands, has been particularly active on "Xisha". The handing over to the International Red Cross of the "Saigonese aggressors" (?troops) there, the production activities of "their inhabitants", the setting up of various building sites there, the patrols of the navy and people's militia in the area: all these are occasions for avalanches of stories, photographs, articles and declarations to appear in the Chinese press. Some inhabitant of Xisha or some soldier stationed there, pours out his feelings of ecstasy about his home islands, deeply moved by the great solicitude of President Nao, then President Hua, and Vice-Presidents Ye and Deng, declaring his determination to defend to his death every inch of the sacred territory of his homeland. "I love Xisha, the corner of our homeland": "I love Xisha more than I love my house", "Xisha will remain forever part of Tiananmen": "President Mao's children in Xisha etc..." Such were the titles of articles in the Chinese press. They even managed to link the campaign for Chinese sovereignty over their islands to that criticising Lin Biao and Confucious, then Deng Xiaoping and the rightist deviationists, then Jiang Qing and the Gang of Four:

The Chinese propaganda machine has brought its entire panoply into action; not simply the press, but also the cinema, television, exhibitions, historical (?facts) and even pseudo-archaeological excavations. Several volumes of illustrated tales about Xisha have been published, in millions of copies, by the Beijing and Guandong people's publishing houses, including for instance, "Never Shall We Yield an Inch of our Land". Several films about the islands have been shown in the capital and the provinces: "Wind and Cloud Over the Southern Sea", "The Islands of the Southern Sea", "Exploring Xisha", ect. Not to mention "The Young Woman of Xisha" never finished because the initiative to make it was said to have come from the "Gang of Four". Contributing to the "People's Movement", the soldiers of the People's Liberation Army composed countless poems and songs about Xisha, some of which were recorded after being performed during art festival.

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